57

Charles William Hamilton.

IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

#103-7
3/3

Collectanea Politica;

OR THE

Political Transactions

OF

IRELAND,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF HIS *MAJESTY KING GEORGE* THE *III.*
TO THE PRESENT TIME;

CONTAINING AN IMPARTIAL STATEMENT OF

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS, FROM THE YEAR 1760, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LEGISLATIVE UNION

WITH

GREAT BRITAIN.

A CIRCUMSTANTIAL ACCOUNT OF

THE LATE REBELLION;

WITH THE PRINCIPAL

STATE TRIALS IN CONSEQUENCE THEREOF:

AND A

COMPLEAT VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN THIS COUNTRY DURING THE LAST FORTY YEARS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

BY WILLIAM WENMAN SEWARD, ESQ.

DUBLIN PRINTED,
BY ALEX STEWART, and MR. PHILIPS, St. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON.
FOR MESSRS. WOGAN,—HALPIN,—BROWN,—COLBERT,—MOLY,—FITZPATRICK,—MACKENZIE,—GILBERT,—PORTER, &c. 1804.

DA947
.S45
Vol. 3

Collectanea Politica;

CHAPTER I.

Continuation of the ſeſſion 1793—*Meſſage from his Majeſty reſpecting a war with France—addreſs to his Majeſty thereon—convention bill—ſpeech of Mr. Grattan on the reading of that bill—his motion—debates thereon—motion negatived—further proceedings and debates on ſaid bill—ſpeeches of the Attorney General—Mr. Curran—Major Doyle—Mr. Geo. Ponſonby &c.—Bill paſſed—particular bills which received the royal aſſent—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech—at the concluſion of the ſeſſion—prorogation of parliament.*

ON the 16th of February, 1793, Mr. Secretary *Hobart* delivered the following meſſage to the houſe from the Lord Lieutenant.

" *Weſtmoreland,*

" I have his Majeſty's commands to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that the aſſembly now exerciſing the powers of government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of his Majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the

law of nations and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty, and have ſince, on the moſt groundleſs pretences, actually declared war againſt his Majeſty and the United Provinces. Under the circumſtances of this wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion, his Majeſty has taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people; and his Majeſty relies with confidence on the firm and effectual ſupport of the Houſe of Commons, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in proſecuting a juſt and neceſſary war, and in endeavouring, under the bleſſing of Providence, to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the further progreſs of a ſyſtem which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and juſtice.

"In a cauſe of ſuch general concern his Majeſty has every reaſon to hope for the cordial co-operation of thoſe powers who are united with his Majeſty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an intereſt in preventing the extenſion of anarchy and confuſion, and contributing to the ſecurity and tranquillity of Europe.

"W."

Lord Hillſborough afterwards in conſequence of this meſſage, preſented from the committee appointed to prepare it, the following addreſs to his Majeſty, which was unanimouſly agreed to.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your Majeſty with our unfeigned thanks for the meſſage which has been ſent to us by your Majeſty's command, acquainting us that the aſſembly now exerciſing the

the powers o government in France have, without previous notice, directed acts of hoſtility to be committed againſt the perſons and property of your Majeſty's ſubjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the moſt poſitive ſtipulations of treaty; and have ſince, on the moſt groundleſs pretences, actually declared war againſt your Majeſty and the United Provinces.

"We aſſure your Majeſty that, whilſt we feel the utmoſt indignation at the circumſtances of this wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion, we are happy in being aſſured that your Majeſty has taken the neceſſary ſteps to maintain the honour of your crown, and to vindicate the rights of your people.

"Your Majeſty may rely with confidence on the firm and effectual ſupport of your faithful Commons, and on the zealous exertions of your Majeſty's brave and loyal people of Ireland, in proſecuting a juſt and neceſſary war, and in endeavouring, under the bleſſing of Providence, to oppoſe an effectual barrier to the further progreſs of a ſyſtem which ſtrikes at the ſecurity and peace of all independent nations, and is purſued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity and juſtice.

"We aſſure your Majeſty, that we learn with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, that in a cauſe of ſuch general concern your Majeſty has every reaſon to hope for the cordial co-operation of thoſe powers who are united with your Majeſty by the ties of alliance, or who feel an intereſt in preventing the extenſion of anarchy and confuſion, and contributing to the ſecurity and tranquillity of Europe."

A bill having been introduced to prevent appointment of conventions or unlawful aſſemblies, under a pretence of preparing or preſenting public petitions or other addreſſes

to his Majeſty or the parliament,—it was read a ſecond time, when Mr. Grattan ſaid, the convention bill is a falſe declaration of law. I call on the lawyers to ſay, whether the mere appointment of delegates, or repreſentatives, for the purpoſe of petitioning the King or parliament, is alone ſufficient to make an unlawful aſſembly. I call for their authorities; where are their ſtatutes, their adjudications, their opinions? There are none, they know there are none. The law never ſaid, that the mere appointment of a repreſentative for a legal purpoſe, was an illegal act, or that the preparing a petition to the King or parliament for the redreſs of a grievance, was an illegal purpoſe; I will examine their authorities. An unlawful aſſembly, ſays Lord Coke, is where three or more aſſemble in a body to commit a riot, and do not do it. An unlawful aſſembly, ſays Blackſtone, is where three or more aſſemble to do an unlawful act, or to pull down incloſures, and part without doing it. An unlawful aſſembly, ſays Hawkins, is not only an aſſembling to do an act, which, if done, would make the aſſembly a riot, but it is the meeting in great numbers, with ſuch circumſtances of terror as cannot but endanger the public peace, as where great numbers, complaining of a common grievance, meet armed in a warlike manner, to conſider of the means of recovering their intereſts. Does a deputation, not armed in a warlike manner, nor in any manner, and appointed to do a legal act, come under all or any of theſe definitions? Does (I recite the ſubſtance of the bill) the appointment of any aſſembly to repreſent any deſcription, or number of the people, for the purpoſe of preparing or preſenting petitions relative to any public concernment, come under any one of theſe definitions? No lawyer can ſay ſo, becauſe no lawyer could ſay ſo without forfeiting his character as a lawyer.

I rely

I rely upon it therefore, that the declaratory part of this bill has not been, and cannot be ſupported by law, but that it is a groſs and ignorant miſrepreſentation of the law of the land, which it affects to declare. It is not ſupported by law, and it is in the face of daily practices. What was the committee of commerce in this country, but ſuch an aſſembly as is here pronounced illegal? What the delegates from the different counties in England, in 1780, to promote a reduction of the expences of the ſtate? What the conventions in England, in 1782, for the purpoſe of the reform of parliament? What the delegates for the procuring the repeal of the teſt act? What the Preſbyterian ſynod? What the delegates of the Quakers? What the convention in England, for the purpoſe of reſtoring Charles the Second? What the convention in Ireland, for bringing about the revolution in 1668; a convention ſtiled a northern aſſociation and general council, to direct the operation of aſſociated bodies, united for the purpoſe of religion and liberty? But I cannot omit one convention to which the preſent family owes its crown, and which, if this bill is law, was an act of rebellion: I mean that glorious and immortal aſſembly purporting to repreſent the people of England, that placed the crown on the head of William and Mary; this aſſembly comes under every clauſe in this bill, deſcriptive of illegal aſſembly; had ſuch a bill as this been the Law of England, and been executed, Lord Somers and the leaders in the revolution muſt have been apprehended. I have read much of the proceedings of the Catholics at the time of the revolution, but I never before read their juſtification in the ſhape of an act of parliament; for if this declaratory bill be law, then the convention of 1688 was againſt law, and all its proceedings of courſe, and amongſt others the ſettlement of the crown, illegal, and the reſiſtance of the Catholics to that ſettlement warrantable by law. Who would have

thought that the Catholics would have found in the defamer of their loyalty, an apologiſt for their rebellion; who would have thought to have found in a bill, profeſſing to be a ſtrong meaſure in favour of power, the ſeed of a principle which impeacheth the ſucceſſion of the crown in the preſent illuſtrious family; but ſo interwoven, fortunately I think it, is the title of the King with the liberties of his people, that no man can be the notorious and intemperate and blaſted enemy of the one, without at the ſame time ſuggeſting a queſtion againſt the other. Such melancholy and groſs ignorance does this act betray of the hiſtory of both countries, and ſuch a total and ſhocking diſregard to every trace of ſound conſtitutional principle, without which no man can be a ſafe lawyer, or a good citizen. Blackſtone ſpeaks of this law of redreſs; the law of redreſs aſcertained as at the revolution, and the law of redreſs unaſcertained, as in thoſe caſes where the governing powers betray their truſt, and conſpire againſt the common weal. ſuch as the modeſty of the law will not ſuppoſe, and therefore againſt which it does not provide a remedy, but leaves the redreſs open to the exigency; and it is this which Lord Bolingbroke means, when he ſays the conſtitution of Great Britain cannot be deſtroyed, even by parliament. Kings, like James the Second, may abdicate; parliaments, like his parliament, may betray their truſt, but the reſources of this conſtitution are ſuch that the people cannot be enſlaved, until they themſelves are univerſally corrupt: how then are they to redreſs themſelves when they are betrayed by parliament; how in ſuch a caſe—how? but by reſorting to what this bill makes a miſdemeanor, the appointment or delegation of ſome body or bodies, who may confer and communicate. This bill, I therefore ſubmit, is not only as a declaration of law falſe and ignorant, but highly criminal and miſchievous, as a proviſion againſt thoſe popular reſources which Ireland found

found neceſſary once, and England found neceſſary alſo, and without which neither had been free. Reſources which ſhould neither be prohibited nor encouraged. Let me ſuppoſe, that the perſons who gave their early and almoſt infant voice againſt a motion to declare the rights of the Iriſh parliament, had ſucceeded ſo far as to prevent the Houſe in the end from adopting that meaſure; let me ſuppoſe that the ſame perſons who propoſed to give back the ſubſtance of thoſe rights, on the queſtion of the memorable propoſitions, attended as that queſtion was with a ſenſeleſs petulance of ſpeech, againſt the character as well as the pretenſions of Ireland; let me ſuppoſe, that they at that time had prevailed; let me ſuppoſe, that thoſe who denied the ſubſtance of that declaration of right on the queſtion of the regency, and maintained that a Britiſh convention could make a law for the people of Ireland, and that this country was governed by the great ſeal of England; let me ſuppoſe, that they had been able at that time to impoſe their empty quibble as law, and their ſhameleſs aſſertion as conſtitution; let me ſuppoſe, that he who had declared in this houſe, that the Iriſh parliament had been once bought for half a million, and that it might be made neceſſary to buy it again for the ſame or a greater ſum; let me ſuppoſe, that he had been able to eſtabliſh the profligacy of this principle, the violence of ſuch meaſures, or the corruption of ſuch practices, as permanent maxims of government; let me ſuppoſe, that thoſe who, by the precipitation of their temper, inflamed, miſled, and finally expoſed the Proteſtant intereſt, as they have ſince endeavoured to alienate the Catholic intereſt, by the petulance of their language; let me ſuppoſe, that they had prevailed in any, and ſtill more in all of their deſparate enterpriſes againſt their country; in ſuch caſe or caſes might not a convention have been neceſſary? It is true, the good ſenſe of ſome of his Majeſty's miniſters has checked the arbitrary

genius

genius that inſpired ſuch ſentiments, governed his temper, and renounced his bigotry, and by taking reconciling ſteps, has rendered a convention at preſent unneceſſary, improper and improbable. But in a country where ſuch practices have been reſorted to, and ſuch avowal of ſuch profligacy publicly made, ſhall we ſay that in no time to come there ſhall ever be a convention: ſuch a practice, and ſuch an unabaſhed avowal of ſuch a practice, is the ſubverſion of all government, of Engliſh government in Ireland, or of any government, becauſe it is the ſubverſion of thoſe principles moral and religious, without which there can be no government. The miniſter therefore who proclaimed that it was the cuſtom of the Britiſh government to buy the Iriſh parliament with half millions, proclaimed by neceſſary deduction the neceſſity of an Iriſh convention; happily, I ſay, that principle is changed, and a convention unneceſſary and unwarranted; but in a country where ſuch a thing could even have been publicly advanced by adminiſtration, will you paſs an act againſt any convention at any time to come, or any repreſentation of any deſcription of the people for any ſpecific public purpoſe? Sir, if this bill had been the law of the land, four great events could never have taken place; the independency of the Iriſh parliament; the emancipation of the Iriſh Catholics; the revolution in Great Britain, and the great event that flowed from it, the ſucceſſion of the Hanoverian family. The enacting part is a bill of popular incapacities inſtead of a conſtitution of popular reſources; the enacting part is a proviſo againſt future redreſs in caſes of emergency, as the declaratory part is a declaration againſt the legality of paſt redreſs. In this latter light it muſt be conſidered as a libel on the revolution; on your own meeting at Dungannon; on all the proceedings of your volunteers, and on the Catholic convention. Where is the uſe of ſtigmatiſing the volunteers by act of parliament, if in the cauſe

of

of liberty they ſometimes went too far; if the ardour of youth could not at all times command the precaution of old age: draw a veil over the infirmity; remember the eſſential ſervice; reſpect the ſoldier's memory, and do not now, when he is dead, aſſemble round his grave with the little enemy of his cauſe and his fame, to write on his tomb this dirty indictment. Some of the gentlemen who now hear me were of the lawyers corps' memorable committee; do they recollect it? That committee was a deputation of armed men repreſenting armed men, and aſſuming to repreſent the knowledge of law as well as its battalion, for the purpoſe of queſtioning and inveſtigating a matter touching the ſtate, and already decided in parliament: I am not defending ſuch a meeting, it ſtands on its own ground and diſtinct from others; but if I had gone ſo very far as to be a member of that committee, I would not now prove falſe to my colours, and pay the miniſter ſuch a compliment, at the expence of my corps and my cloath, as to acknowledge that my proceedings and theirs influenced by their leaders, were in the face of the law. The Catholic convention is another object libelled by this bill; where is the uſe of the reflection? not only they who elected and they who compoſed that convention, but his Majeſty, who received its deputies, comes in for his ſhare of the obloquy; it is very evident that one of the many views of this bill is to attack the Catholics; as to any evil deſigns which the Catholics may be ſaid to entertain, I believe they have none; ſure I am, that the charges which have been made againſt the body of the Catholics are falſe; if there are grounds, ſtate them; let that which is to appal us all appear; it has proved nothing but vague aſſertion; nor can we ſuppoſe that the Catholics, who, under the penal code, preſerved their allegiance, ſhould become diſaffected on the moment in which they had acquired ſuch ſolid and ineſtimable advantages, and through the agency of the government

ment which they are falsely charged to wish to undermine. The bitterness of expression which in some instances accompanied that grant, cannot exasperate them against the state, but should be rather a subject of additional thanks to the wiser part of government, who have forced the angry bigot to vote against his speech, with the humiliating privilege of babbling against his vote.

It may be to the Catholics further consolation to find, that if they are calumniated, so have been the Protestants; they who acted for the liberties of this country; they who since 1782 struggled for bills, which, in part, government has meritoriously acceded to, are for that very conduct, by the same false witness, vituperated expressly as men endeavouring to foment jealousies and disunion between Great Britain and Ireland. Satisfied with the success of some of their great measures, these men have learned to despise that political jury, whose testimony against public character is now exploded as his principles.

Sir, this bill not only reflects on numbers of his Majesty's subjects as guilty of a misdemeanor, but it involves them in the penalty; it is an *ex post facto* law of pains and penalties: if this bill be law, every man who composed the Catholic convention is now liable to be prosecuted for a misdemeanor; it might so happen that some of the gentlemen who vote for the bill might be their jury or their judges, how would they act; would they on oath or as on the bench pronounce those men guilty of a misdemeanor; and which they are now ready to assert as members of parliament? Those gentlemen may not only happen to try such offenders, but are liable to be tried themselves, for such offences; for they were certainly those criminal and illegal deputies described in the act. I do not suppose government will ever think of prosecuting them, but if she should, she will after the passing

paſſing this act have againſt the legality of their conduct the authority of the legiſlature and their own. I have objected to this bill as an innovation on the conſtitution; I object to it alſo as an innovation on the ſyſtem of criminal juriſprudence: it puts the peace officer in the place of the court of juſtice, in caſes where there is neither tumult nor danger of tumult; it is true the common law makes him the judge of the imminent danger to which the ſociety is expoſed, from a numerous body armed and proceeding to execute an illegal purpoſe, or a legal purpoſe in an illegal tumultuous manner; but it is the force or imminent danger of force, that brings the ſubject under the cogniſance of the ſubordinate magiſtrate; the illegality alone would only bring him under the cogniſance of the courts of juſtice. Where there are circumſtances of force and horror accompanying an illegal act, then grows the power of the peace officer, for he is not the guardian of the law, but the conſervator of the peace. But this bill gives that officer in the inſtance of a peaceful meeting aſſembled to do a legal act, as to frame a petition for thoſe who have deputed them ſo to do, this bill, I ſay, gives the peace officer the power to judge of the fact of the deputation; of the manner of exerciſing that truſt, and of the public nature of the object of it, with right of entry and a power to call in the military; here is the principle of the act, applied to the peaceful communication of ſentiment—and is an innovation of the principles of the criminal law of theſe countries. The objects of this bill is to ſtigmatiſe the Catholic convention, and prevent the reform of parliament; but the pretences for this bill, I think, are three; the Defenders, the United Iriſhmen, and an imaginary convention at Athlone: the laſt is not to take place, and on the two firſt the bill will have no operation. Gentlemen muſt ſurely know that either this convention is not at all to take place, or taking place, would be feeble and frivolous. Such a convention

as

as I have ſeen deſcribed would be indeed unſeaſonable, and, I will add, wholely inadmiſſible ; but ſuch a bill as this, is not the way to defeat it. You remember a much more formidable convention than this ſuppoſed one of Athlone, a convention of armed men repreſenting the volunteer army ; ſitting at the Rotunda with a guard, and preparing plans for parliament : ſome of the friends of this bill, members of this Houſe, were deputies of that convention ; accepted delegation, ſat and voted, and whatever evil was incurred, had a full ſhare in it. But how did the then Attorney General act, did he alter the conſtitution under pretence of defending it ; did he make uſe of popular exceſſes to abridge the liberty of the ſubject ; did he give an opinion contrary to law, and then get parliament to give an influenced judgment in ſupport of it, and invade the conſtitution under pretence of declaring the law ? No ; when the convention attempted to act, he framed a reſolution, which purported the defence of the conſtitution againſt all encroachment : the conſequence was the convention diſperſed, and the conſtitution ſtood unaltered and unimpaired —unimpaired either by the encroachment of a convention, or of a convention bill. In the preſent caſe the prorogation of parliament cannot interfere, unleſs government prefers a long prorogation ; and ſure I am that if ſuch a thing as the deſcribed convention is to take place, it were much better to meet it with the precedent I have mentioned than with this bill ; but it is evident no ſuch thing is now apprehended : the ſpirit of the people does not beat high, and becauſe the ſpirit is not high this bill is brought forward. The friends of the bill have ſeiſed the opportunity of public panic, which certain exceſſes have excited : I condemn both—the exceſſes and the remedy ; inſtead of either I am for the conſtitution of England.

He

He then moved, "that the bill be read a ſecond time on the ninth of September next."

The Attorney General oppoſed the motion—He ſaid, that if he had had any doubts on his mind of the truth of the declaration in the preamble, as to the illegality of the aſſemblies deſcribed by the bill, the right honourable gentleman himſelf had removed them, by contradicting the opinion he had at firſt laid down ſo poſitively; for he had ſaid that a meeting, ſuch as had been deſcribed, ſhould be withſtood, and he knew the right honourable gentleman's principles and his love for the conſtitution too well, to ſuppoſe he would have an aſſembly withſtood which was not illegal. He denied that the bill had any retroſpect particularly to the Catholic convention; it originated merely from a profeſſed deſign to call a convention, to repreſent the people and overturn the parliament. He alluded to the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, whoſe agitations had greatly diſturbed the city and deſtroyed public credit. He mentioned the late meeting at Dungannon as a conſequence of the invitations of this ſociety; and preparatory only to a general meeting at Athlone in the courſe of the ſummer. He declared it, as his well-weighed opinion, that ſuch an aſſembly was unlawful. As to the authorities that had been adduced to prove it was not, he obſerved, that they had not been rightly underſtood; for that in Hawkins' nothing more was neceſſary to conſtitute an unlawful aſſembly, but that they were attended with circumſtances of terror, whether armed or not. He had been called on for adjudication or ſtatute to prove the illegality. He ſaid, things might be unlawful againſt which no ſtatute nor adjudication exiſts. Otherwiſe precedents of abjudication could never have been had. This, of repreſentative aſſemblies diſtinct from parliament, he thought was one of thoſe. For a repreſentative aſſembly ſuperior to, or even co-ordinate

co-ordinate with, parliament, was, he was convinced, already againſt the principles of the conſtitution. The principle of the bill, therefore, muſt be good; as to any imperfection in the clauſes it might be corrected in a committee. The right honourable gentleman miſconceived the bill if he ſuppoſed it went to prevent all deputation; if there was any thing of that tendency in the bill, he would agree to its correction in a committee: it went only to prevent aſſemblies purporting to be the general repreſentatives of the people, not repreſentation for any pre-conceived object.

The right of petitioning was not effected by the bill; that right, however, could not be exerciſed by delegation; each individual knows his own grievance, and muſt petition for himſelf.—The people could not elect delegates for the purpoſe of conſidering whether an object ſhould be petitioned for, or not—whether the law was already what the preamble of the bill declared it or not, was of little importance; the queſtion was, whether ſuch ought to be the law or not. If the houſe believed that ſuch a convention was intended, they ſhould conſider well whether it ought not to be prevented before it be too late.—The bill appeared to him a good mode of providing againſt that meeting, and until the right honourable gentleman ſhould point out ſome better one, the bill ſhould meet his approbation.—The right honourable gentleman had ſaid that the bill was intended to prevent a reform, and that it would make one neceſſary: he ſolemnly declared he knew no object of the bill but one—that was, to prevent this threatened convention, which, from a late publication from the United Iriſhmen, appeared by its mode of election to be ſtill more dangerous than it had appeared hitherto. It was to obviate this danger, only, that the noble peer had introduced this bill into the other Houſe; he was confident that ſo ſmall an object

object as reform had not on this occaſion been at all in his mind. The right honourable gentleman had argued from the revolution of 1688, and aſſerted that if ſuch a bill as this had exiſted, any ſuch revolution could never have been accompliſhed.—For his part, he hoped there would no more be occaſion for any ſuch: he admired it however, no man more, as the foundation of our liberties.—The bill, he contended, could not have the effect that the right honourable gentleman wiſhed to attribute to it. The criſis for ſuch an event, as the convention in 1688, are extremes which no law can have reference to: and he thought it worth obſerving, that even the convention in 1688 was itſelf indemnified by a ſubſequent act of parliament, a circumſtance from which if any thing can be drawn, it is an argument againſt the legality even of that ſingular aſſembly.

Mr. Hardy ſupported the motion: He declared himſelf no friend to conventions: they muſt indubitably produce one of two effects; either they muſt degrade parliament, or they muſt exhauſt the ſtrength of the people, and deprive them of that conſtitutional energy which they ought to exert at proper occaſions.

He entered into a ſhort view of the different conventions that have met in Ireland within a few years, and ſhewed, that where they attempted to dictate to parliament, parliament was enabled to diſperſe them with eaſe, aa was the caſe of 1783; when their propoſitions were founded in reaſon, and parliament made reaſonable conceſſions, then they diſperſed themſelves, as the late Roman Catholic convention.

He thought parliament did not think ought of itſelf, if it did not depend for ſupport rather on the many popular acts of

of this ſeſſion, than on one ſolitary law; they paid a bad compliment to the heads and hearts of their countrymen, if they did not believe that they would rather ſit down contented participators of an amended conſtitution, than become the dupes of knaves and fools. If the people were ſo ſenſeleſs, the bill might go back to the Lords with all his heart, for he knew not what would ſatisfy them or prevent their ruin.

The queſtion on Mr. Grattan's motion being put, the numbers were,

Ayes	—	—	27
Noes	—	—	128
	Majority		101

On July the 18, 1793, the bill being again proceeded on

Mr. Grattan ſaid, he intended to move that it be an inſtruction on the committee to receive a clauſe to limit the duration of this act. If gentlemen would agree to this, he ſhould make his particular objections in the committee.

The Attorney General ſaid, he could by no means agree to the introduction of ſuch a clauſe conſiſtently with his arguments of yeſterday, namely, that the bill was only declaratory of what was already the law of the land.

Mr. Grattan—I put a queſtion to the learned gentlemen—are the two circumſtances of delegation and public concernment ſufficient to conſtitute an unlawful aſſembly, except that aſſembly be the Houſe of Commons? or in other words, muſt any delegation of any deſcription of his Majeſty's

ty's ſubjects, other than this Houſe, for the purpoſe of promoting any redreſs of any grievance in church or ſtate, be conſidered as an unlawful aſſembly?—They have given me no anſwer; but they have ſtated a caſe which is another caſe, and which is a quibble, and not an anſwer. They have ſaid, that a repreſentative of the people, other than the Houſe of Commons is an unlawful aſſembly: it may be ſo; yet a delegation for promoting redreſs in matter of public concernment may not be ſo, becauſe that delegation may not be, nor aſſume to be, a repreſentative of the people, but of a certain deſcription thereof—and yet the bill, both in its preamble and declaration, makes ſuch aſſembly illegal. The caſe, therefore, ſtated by the gentlemen, is no more a defence of the bill than it is an anſwer to my queſtion.

The bill ſtates, that any repreſentation of any deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects for procuring redreſs in any manner, in any matter of public concernment, is an unlawfu aſſembly.

The learned gentlemen ſay, that a repreſentative of the people is ſo—which is not the caſe of that body who only aſſemble to repreſent in a particular matter, a particular province, county, city, town, diſtrict, or deſcription of people. The caſe ſubmitted to the gentlemen, and the caſe contained in the bill, reſt illegality on the act of delegation for procuring in any manner redreſs in matters of public concernment.—The caſe ſtated by the learned gentlemen, ſeems to reſt the point of illegality on the generality of the repreſentation, and their reaſon ſeems to reſt it there ſtill more than their caſe; for inſtance, they ſay a repreſentative of the people, other than the Houſe of Commons, is an unlawful aſſembly, becauſe the Houſe of Commons are excluſively the repreſentatives of the people, and there-

fore to attempt to appoint a ſecond Houſe of Common is unlawful, becauſe incompatible with the firſt. This reaſon in ſupport of this caſe is a ſurrender of the principle of the bill. I do not ſay, the bill is betrayed;—but its defence is waved by the law ſervants of the Crown—they acknowledge that there is neither ſtatute nor adjudication in ſupport of the principle of the bill;—but they ſay there is reaſon, and that reaſon they alledge to be this—that there cannot be at one time two repreſentatives of the people; whereas the principle of the bill is, that any repreſentation not of the people only, but of any deſcription whatever thereof, for a public purpoſe, ſave only this Houſe, is an unlawful aſſembly.

The caſe and reaſoning of the learned gentlemen would comprehend nothing but a national convention; but the caſes, principle, and deſcription of the bill would comprehend every ſubdiviſion of delegation for public matter. The Presbyterian committee, of which I read a petition yeſterday, and which the Proteſtant Diſſenters of England have appointed by delegation to promote redreſs of particular grievances, touching church and ſtate, viz. the repeal of the Teſt act—the delegation of Quakers, if that delegation ſhould join in an humble addreſs for the commutation of tythes—the Presbyterian ſynod, if that ſynod ſhould preſume to interfere in behalf of their flock in matters touching abuſes in church or ſtate;—all theſe come within the letter of the act, though by no means within the argument which attempts to defend it. They are all delegations, and in the caſes I have ſuggeſted, would be employed in procuring redreſs of ſome abuſes either in church or ſtate.

I have thus merely conſidered the argument as far as it declined the queſtion I propoſed, and muſt ſay that the only ſenſe

ſenſe to be extracted from the argument is, that there cannot be at once two repreſentatives of the people for the ſame purpoſes—but for different purpoſes—it does not follow but there may.

The Houſe of Commons, whom we will for argument's ſake ſuppoſe the real repreſentatives of the people, is appointed for the exerciſe of certain powers—powers of impeachment, powers of grant, and powers of legiſlation; certainly any attempt on the part of the people to give a ſecond order of delegates authority to exerciſe ſuch powers, would in the higheſt degree be illegal—or what might ſeem to imply the ſame thing, the appointment of a ſecond order of delegates to repreſent the people generally without any ſpecific limitation, would be highly criminal and illegal, becauſe that would imply the powers I have deſcribed—but the appointment of delegates for a ſpecific and legal purpoſe—for inſtance, promoting the redreſs of a particular abuſe touching the church or ſtate—as the reform of parliament—a limitation of public expences—a repeal of the teſt act; ſuch delegations which do or have exiſted in England and Ireland, would not be an interference with the juriſdiction of the Houſe of Commons, nor within the reaſon of the caſe of the learned gentlemen—The people in electing members to ſerve in parliament part with ſome of their powers, and others they retain—the power of petitioning, of inſtructing, and of delivering their ſenſe on abuſes in church and ſtate, they retain—with theſe powers they of neceſſity retain another, that of forming themſelves into ſuch voluntary organization, of committee, delegates, or repreſentatives, whatſoever you pleaſe to call them, for the purpoſe either of preparing their petitions or of framing their reſolution, or calling their diſperſed opinions into one conſiſtent inſtrument, on the object of the particular grievance, with a view to render the exerciſe of the power they retain, conſiſtent, tranquil, and operative.

In the proceedings of such delegation care must be taken to preserve the peace, and in specifying its object care must be taken to observe the law—but if the destination of such delegation is lawful and the proceedings peaceful, I know of no law, and the learned gentlemen have adduced neither law nor reason to pronounce it an unlawful assembly—I see plainly the necessity of leaving such powers free, because I see a time may come, we have seen when such a time did come, when the being of the constitution shall depend on the exercise of such power. Suppose a House of Commons, as was the case of the Middlesex election, conspire against the elective rights of the community. Suppose a House of Commons, as was the case of the perpetual mutiny bill, under the influence of the minister vote the army for ever—are the people to have no power of interfering; or, which is the same thing, no power of communicating in order to make their interference operative and consistent? It has been said that representative conventions are illegal; but the question of legality depends on what those representative conventions are—if they are national representative conventions assuming expressly, or by the generality of their appointment, the functions of the House of Commons, they are more than illegal---but if they are representative conventions appointed for a special purpose to prepare a petition, or to promote the redress of a particular grievance, such as may obtain in church or state; for such a representative convention as committees of correspondence, or the delegation of the Quakers, or the synod of the Presbyterians, or such as the delegates of the Protestant Dissenters now existing in England---I hold it that such representative conventions are not illegal.

The honourable member who had made the observation—made this distinction, for the representative convention he condemned as a mock parliament, plainly intimating the representative

repreſentative conventions not in any degree aſſuming the function of a parliament did not come within his objection ---it would ſeem therefore that it is the aſſumption of parliamentary functions and not the act of repreſentation, nor the public concernment which is its object, that conſtitute the illegality; and this obſervation brings the argument of the honourable member to the ſame principle with that of his honourable friend---that the law will not tolerate two Houſes of Commons, as the principle of the argument is the ſame, ſo ſhall be my anſwer, that the aſſemblies deſcribed in the bill are not only ſuch as aſſume the functions of a Houſe of Commons, nor ſuch as aſſume the character of unlimited repreſentation, but ſuch as are deſcriptions of his Majeſty's ſubjects however ſmall, met on or any public purpoſe whatſoever.

This argument, then, like the other, leaves the bill undefended. But it is advanced in further ſupport of this argument, that the Houſe of Commons would not receive a petition from a delegation; and it is thence inferred that the act of delegation is illegal; but it does not ſtrike me in that manner. It would ſeem that this obſervation could only reach delegation, for the purpoſe of preſenting or ſubſcribing petitions, not preparing petitions, nor correſponding, nor digeſting reſolutions, nor promoting redreſs of ſpecific grievances to all which the bill goes, to none of which the argument goes; nor does the argument even go ſo far as to prove the illegality of any delegation whatſoever; it only proves, that delegations for the particular purpoſe of preſenting or ſubſcribing petitions, is fruitleſs; but it does not prove the delegates to be an unlawful aſſembly; or that the peace officers can diſperſe them, or the crown officer proſecute them. You cannot petition parliament by attorney---does it follow you cannot appoint one?

Aſſociation for the peace---delegations for redreſs---clubs for ſociety, as all voluntary conventions, without ſeal, certificate, or incorporation. Parliament cannot know them by that deſcription which they give themſelves, does it follow that the law would puniſh them as an unlawful aſſembly?

The object of theſe meetings has in general been to propoſe matter for petition, or to collect or combine the public mind to one ſpecific mode of remedy, and not in the perſon of delegates to approach the legiſlature: and it is againſt this proceeding the bill is directed. The bill leaves the county meeting free—all its deſigns is to prevent the communication of county with county, and city with city, on the ſubject of public redreſs, and the reform of parliament above all other ſubjects: and the reaſon is very obvious;—the reſolutions of ſuch county or aggregate meetings have proved generally effectual; but the reſolutions formed on repreſentative or delegated meetings have generally proved effectual; the bill leaves the people ſuch reſources as have been abortive, and only takes away all which have been ſucceſsful.

It has been ſaid in ſupport of this bill that the preamble contains in it no point of law whatſoever, but is one propoſition, only ſtating a matter of fact; this I muſt deny; the preamble contains two propoſitions, the one, matter of fact, or rather propheſy, which is poſitive, the other matter of law, which is implicative.—It deſcribes an unlawful aſſembly in theſe words—"an aſſembly purporting to repreſent the people."---(but it does not ſtop here) "or any deſcription or number of the people, under pretence of preparing or preſenting petitions, complaints, remonſtrances, or declarations to the king or parliament for alterations of matter in church or ſtate, alledged grievances or other public

public concernment": but if there was any doubt whether the preamble implied, there can be no doubt but that the declaratory part expreſſes that any aſſembly of delegates from any deſcription or number of his Majeſty's ſubjects for the purpoſe of procuring by petition, or in any other manner, an alteration in matters eſtabliſhed in church or ſtate, is unlawful.---Let me aſk gentlemen of the bar, what was the committee of lawyers corps in 1782; was not that very aſſembly, a delegation from a certain deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects to procure an alteration in matters eſtabliſhed in ſtate---a delegation to conſider a public concernment---a delegation purporting to promote the redreſs of grievance? There is not a deſcription in the act that delineates an unlawful aſſembly, under which that committee does not come. Who appointed that committee?---A certain numerous deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects---What was the object of their delegation?---To conſider matters of ſtate then ſettled by the law---that is, to report whether the meaſures taken by the parliament of the two kingdoms were as unanimouſly alledged by the parliament of Ireland adequate in point of law to liberate this kingdom from the legiſlative interference of Great Britain.---And what was their determination?---In direct contradiction to a ſettlement concluded by both Houſes of parliament. They reported that the remedy which our parliament had deemed ſufficient, was inadequate, and they concluded with a redreſs of their own, namely, that a bill of renunciation ought to paſs in the parliament of England, and a bill of right in the parliament of Ireland.

Here is a delegation taking into conſideration every thing which this bill forbids---public concernment---redreſs of grievance, and a particular matter, vitally affecting the ſtate, and juſt ſettled by the law, and here is a report of that delegation opening that ſettlement to procure an alteration therein.

There

There were, indeed, two circumſtances which diſtinguiſh this delegation from others which the bill deſcribes and declares to be unlawful---the committee were delegated by an armed body, to impeach the ſufficiency of a parliamentary ſettlement Do. I wiſh to reflect on their motives? No; they thought the independency of this country was a matter of ſtate, too invaluable, though ſettled by law, to be left entirely to any body of men, even the Houſe of Commons or to any individual of that Houſe, however well diſpoſed. It was an occaſion in which zeal, and even ſuſpicion, was commendable. I differed from the members of that committee in the doctrines they then advanced againſt the proceeding of parliament. I differ from ſome of them in the doctrines they now advance againſt the proceedings of their own committee---and it is by a ſingular fatality that it ſhould fall to my lot to reſiſt, and to theirs to ſupport a bill whoſe preamble and whoſe declaration do, in the fulleſt and leaſt equivocal manner, pronounce their committee to have been an unlawful aſſembly, and their conduct to have been illegal.

While I combat the argument, I muſt give every due praiſe to the abilities of the learned gentleman who advanced it---for taſte as a ſcholar, knowledge as a lawyer, and extenſive, liberal, and deep erudition. It has been ſaid that the bill does not affect committees appointed *bona fide* to prepare petitions or other matter, but only ſuch as make petition a pretence for delegation---ridiculous! The bill goes againſt all delegation for public matter, and provides that the pretence of petitioning ſhall not cover the tranſaction.

Gentlemen having in my humble apprehenſion miſtated the law, proceed to my certain knowledge to miſtate the fact---and they inſiſt that in England no convention or committee

mittee ſuch as the bill deſcribes has taken place, and this they aſſign as a reaſon why in England there is no prohibitory ſtatute. I mentioned yeſterday one delegation this moment exiſting in England---a delegation from no leſs a deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects than the Proteſtant Diſſenters in England, appointed for the expreſs purpoſe of procuring an alteration in a matter by law eſtabliſhed in church and ſtate---the repeal of the teſt act. I beg to remind gentlemen of another delegation that took place in London; It was a delegation from that deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects which comprehends the manufacturing intereſt of England, and was deputed to conſider matter that related to the ſtate of both kingdoms---the commercial propoſitions. I beg leave to turn the recollection of gentlemen to other conventions in England---to thoſe that ſat in London in 1780, conſiſting of a deputation from above ſixteen counties, delegating repreſentatives for the purpoſe of forming Committees of correſpondence, to procure an alteration in matters touching the ſtate---or in other words to frame petitions for theſe ſeveral counties for the reduction of the expences of the government; and further to promote the objects of thoſe petitions, among the number of thoſe delegates were ſome from the city of London, appointed by an act of the corporation, attended with a reſolution, that the Recorder of London ſhould be aſſiſtant to the delegation, a man of great celebrity and knowledge both as a lawyer and a conſtitutionaliſt.

There were other moſt reſpectable names members and chairmen of theſe committees, the Duke of Portland, Lord Spencer, Mr. Fox—the name of Cavendiſh, and moſt of the whig intereſt of England. The Duke of Rutland was chairman to one of the committees. There was our Burke; there were others; there was the Marquis of Buckingham and Mr. Grenville. I do not find any proceeding

ceeding againſt theſe meetings as unlawful aſſemblies, and yet all theſe came within the letter and ſpirit of this bill; they came within the letter of your act, for they were delegations from certain deſcriptions of his Majeſty's ſubjects to procure an altertation in matter touching the ſtate, *viz.* the expences of the king's government; they come within the ſpirit, becauſe the object of theſe committees was to procure, as that of the bill is to prevent, concert—concert among the people, in redreſſing thoſe abuſes in the ſtate, which a Houſe of Commons, as it is now returned by boroughs, and influenced by miniſters, will not attend to, except when ſuch concert out of doors, as happened in counties in almoſt all great queſtions, and did happen in the caſe of thoſe very committees, renders it neceſſary to attend and concede.—I have ſhewn you the practice in England, and that the advocates of the bill in matter of fact at leaſt are entirely miſtaken. I think it has been already ſhewn that they are ſo in matter of law, and I beg to ask whether it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that ſuch practice, ſo general, ſo repeated, and ſo countenanced, is illegal, and whether ſuch doctrines as the advocates of the bill have advanced, unſupported by ſtatute, unwarranted by adjudication, and in the face of ſuch a number of precedents, indeed of daily experience, and of their own memorable example, is law? I muſt therefore conclude this part of my anſwer by obſerving, that the arguments of this bill do not appear to have the ſupport either of the law or of fact.

As to the expediency, I beg to ſpeak a few words. This bill is ſaid to be an expedient to reſtore peace;—why, then, is it a reflection? why do the preamble and the declaration pronounce every man who has been a delegate—all the volunteers, the delegates at Dungannon, the delegates of the convention, the committee of the lawyers corps,

corps, and the corps that appointed that committee—the committee of the Catholics, their late convention, and all the Catholics who appointed that committee, that is the whole Catholic body, offenders—men guilty of an unlawful assembly, and this moment liable to be prosecuted ?—For so much has the bill in object, not the peace of the country, but reflection on great bodies, and the gratification of spleen at the expence of the constitution, by voting false doctrine into law, and the brightest passages of your history into unlawful assemblies.

Gentlemen have conceived this bill an expedient to quell the insurgents ; let them read the bill. It is not a riot act ; the riot act seemed forgotten until a friend of mine put it into his temporary statute bill ; it does not go against riots that are, but conventions that are not.—The title of the bill as first brought in, was to prevent riots and tumults arising from conventions ; but as the bill had nothing to say to riots, and no riots appeared to have arisen from conventions, such title was in decency dropped, and the real object of the bill professed—an act against conventions.

The bill, therefore, neither is, nor professes to be a bill against riots ; it is only an expedient against conventions, and only an expedient for peace, as far as conventions now disturb it ; Sir, there are none.

But gentlemen say, a national convention at Athlone was intended. Sir, I do believe that such a one was intended some time ago, and that now it is not so ; or, if now intended, that it would be trifling and contemptible. But if that is the object of the bill, direct the bill to that object. Do not extend the bill to every delegation from any county, city, town, district, from any description of any number of

his

his Majeſty's ſubjects appointed to procure redreſs in any abuſe relating to church or ſtate. My objection to your bill is, that it is a trick—making a ſuppoſed national convention at Athlone in 1793, a pretext for preventing delegation for ever.

I have already ſaid, that ſuch a meeting as was invited to aſſemble at Athlone ſhould be withſtood. I know not what ſuch meeting would be, except from the ſummonſes read by gentlemen in this Houſe, and ſuch a meeting, I repeat it, as would aſſemble purſuant to ſuch ſummonſes, with ſuch a view, and under all the circumſtances held out, ſhould be withſtood;—for ſuch a meeting would not be an aſſembly to promote the reform of parliament, but to put itſelf in the place of parliament:—But does it follow, therefore, that the people ſhould loſe the power of delegation for ever?—I acknowledge the people retain their right to hold ſuch primary aſſemblies, as meet in the aggregate; but do not we know that ſuch meetings have been inefficacious—the object not of your reſpect, but of the courtiers ſcorn and ridicule; and, therefore, the people have reſorted to delegates who have given to their wiſhes concert and effect; and, therefore, I fear it is, that a bill has been introduced when parliamentary reform is in contemplation, to prevent ſuch delegation, leaving to the people ſuch popular meetings as gentlemen flatter themſelves cannot have any popular effect.

My apprehenſion, therefore, is, that the ſuppoſed meeting at Athlone is a pretence, and that the real object of this bill is to prevent in future all popular effect whatſoever, particularly now, when reform has been propoſed in this Houſe, a meaſure offenſive to all men who diſlike the people—offenſive to moſt of thoſe who diſlike the Catholics, and deteſtable to thoſe men who hate both. Does it follow, becauſe

becauſe the ſuppoſed national convention at Athlone ſhould be prevented, that all committees of correſpondence on the ſubject of redreſs ſhould be put down for ever? No county, no city, no deſcription of men can delegate a few individuals to concert the moſt legal and effectual method of procuring in an acknowledged abuſe a temperate remedy.

I am againſt this bill, becauſe it is not confined to the ſuppoſed convention, but is levelled againſt all popular delegation in all time to come; and as I was againſt the exceſſes of ſome of the people which ſhook the principles of Government, ſo am I now againſt exceſſes on the other ſide, which attack the principles of liberty. I conſider the bill as one exceſs reforming another—as the violence of one ſide attacking the conſtitution, as that of the other did the government: It ſeems to me to be compounded of a diſlike to the people in general, and the Catholics in particular—a concern at paſt acquiſition, and a preſent apprehenſion of the reform of parliament: it avails itſelf of the preſent panic to abridge popular rights, and it finds ſupport in ſanguine but weak minds, who know there is a diſeaſe, but have not ſenſe enough to diſcover the remedy, and think that a convention bill is to reſtore us all to peace; who think, that in time of local diſturbance, the remedy is a bill, not againſt the particular diſturbance, but againſt liberty and the people.

I muſt repeat my conviction againſt this bill, and beg to reſort to the memories of gentlemen wherein to depoſit my entire diſapprobation of this meaſure.

Major Doyle, in a ſpeech of much conciliation, expreſſed his regret that any meaſure ſhould be brought forward at this time, which was likely to create a difference of opinion;—for ſurely nothing could tend more to the public tranquillity,

quillity, and of courſe to the ſecurity of Government, that that the ſeſſion ſhould have cloſed with the moſt perfect unanimity; and the people be impreſſed with the idea, that the meaſures of Government were ſuch as met the approbation of thoſe who did not uſually concur with the miniſter. He ſaid, it had been candidly admitted from the treaſury bench, that oppoſition, as it was generally called, had ſhewn, during the ſeſſion, every wiſh to ſtrengthen and ſupport the Government of the country, in the preſervation of the public peace.—He would ſay for himſelf, and thoſe with whom he had the honour to act, that they would be always found ready to give every ſtrength to the executive Government, that did not trench upon the juſt rights and privileges of the people.

With reſpect to the bill, he ſaid, if it were ſo diſtinctly defined as to attach ſolely to the object it profeſſed to meet, namely, the national convention at Athlone, it ſhould have his decided approbation.—But, in its preſent ſtate, he thought it too looſe and undefined, and likely (without ſome modification) to raiſe doubts and fears in the minds of the moſt peaceable and well-diſpoſed ſubjects. The bill muſt have reference either to the Catholic convention, which is paſt—the riots and tumults which at preſent exiſt —or to the national convention to meet hereafter.

With reſpect to the firſt (the Catholic Convention) I regret, ſaid he, the manner in which it has been introduced into the debate. By aſſuming that that aſſembly is the ſource of this meaſure, what object can you propoſe to yourſelves? Do you mean by innuendo to cenſure the benignity which has flowed from the throne, at the prayer of that very convention, which the bill by implication ſtigmatizes? —Will you, by a ſentence grounded upon novel and *ex poſt facto* declarations of law, condemn an aſſembly whoſe proceedings

ceedings you have already ſo far approved, that you have admitted their prayer, and ratified its juſtice, by the immunities which you in conſequence beſtowed, and obſerve, that this ſentence is paſſed againſt an aſſembly no longer exiſting, for it ſpontaneouſly diſſolved itſelf? Now, Sir, it either was, or it was not, illegal; if it were illegal, parliament was the cauſe of the illegality, you drove the Catholics to a convention, you refuſed their original petition, aſſigned as the reaſon, "that the framers of it affected to ſpeak the ſentiments of the whole body, without having been duly deputed."

To obviate your objection, they had recourſe to ſyſtematic delegation, and thus formed the convention; but if it were illegal you ſhould have puniſhed it; do you do ſo? No; you rewarded it, by attending to its prayer. If thus you legalize it, how can the neceſſity for the preſent bill be juſtified by a reference to the illegality of that meeting? No, Sir, as to the preſent tumults, no man can more deplore them. I lament exceedingly the fate of thoſe deluded people who have fallen victims to the juſt vengeance of the laws. But why ſearch for diſtant reaſons when an obvious one preſents itſelf.—A new experiment has been tried, in the formation of a national militia. Certainly there can be no more conſtitutional force; but unfortunately the ignorant peaſantry have not had time to know its value; and as ignorance is always ſuſpicious, they view that eſtabliſhment as an object of terror, which upon experience they will find their beſt ſecurity. I feel the more juſtified in attributing the preſent diſgraceful tumults to the miſconception of the people on this ſubject rather than to politics or religion, when I reflect the very ſame effects were produced by the introduction of the militia act in England, many lives were loſt on that occaſion, and ſeveral counties in that kingdom were for many years without carrying

carrying the act into effect, until the people saw the good consequences of the militia, and of their own accord came into the measure; it will be so in this country if you give it time. Be the cause of the riots what it may, they must certainly be resisted by the energy of the Government, but surely (if possible) it is better to prevent than punish, and to counteract the misrepresentations of the seditions, by explaining to the people the advantages of the system they had been taught to dread.

It has, I fear, been mischievously insinuated amongst the peasantry, that they are liable to be sent on foreign service. Their suspicions on that subject have been considerably encreased by the recollection of a circumstance which every man must remember. A regiment was raised by a gentleman of another country, under the idea of serving within the realm; from being clad in green, they were, by the people, called the Green Linnets. These men were assembled without arms, for the declared purpose of inspecting their necessaries, when they were immediately surrounded by four regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, and marched like convicts on board a ship for the West Indies, from whence few, if any, ever returned.

A procedure so infamous, as to damn any government, in even the most uncivilized country;—the impression is still fresh upon the public mind. I have observed, within a few days past, a circumstance which I am confident must be unknown to the right honourable Secretary, but which might be used by ill-disposed persons to keep up their suspicions among the lower orders of the people.

Sir, I have seen with much surprise, and indeed indignation, a number of hackney coaches, surrounded by guards

guards with fixed bayonets, conveying a number of persons to the water-side. I really conceived that they had been convicts, and their destination Botany Bay; but upon enquiry, I was gravely told, that they were volunteers for his Majesty's service. Sir, I mention this circumstance, and I dwell upon the subject of the militia, because I am anxious that the unfortunate deluded people should be undeceived, and no longer subject to the danger resulting from opposing the laws; and as I am certain that the discussion upon this subject will be disseminated throughout the country, I wish to tell the people, whose interest I have so much at heart, that every man who hears me knows, "that no militia man can by law, be sent out of the kingdom; and that any thing they may hear to the contrary is intended to decide and to abuse them. So that this bill can no more have reference to the present riots than to the Catholic convention, unless indeed we adopt the curious anachronism, that the riots in June and July are occasioned by a convention that may or may not meet in September.

And now, Sir, as to the reference of the bill to that convention. If its object is solely declaratory, no additional strength is given to Government by the bill, and this objection attends it, that it is harsh and irritating at a moment which peculiarly demands conciliatory conduct. If it be then unwise to promulgate at this juncture such a bill against practices really culpable, will you justify it by saying, that its purview will reach misdemeanours which no statute has hitherto defined, and which this bill does not pretend to describe?—Have you ascertained to yourselves exactly your own object in this bill? Have you calculated its real efficiency, even as to the point you may distinctly have in view? Do you mean that it should take away the capacity of feeling grievances, or prevent communications of any sort

on political oppreſſions? Sir, all that ſuch a bill could perform would be to eſtabliſh that caution which would render diſſatisfaction dangerous.

Whilſt popular miſconception has a tongue, it gives you warning, and allows room for prudence to apply a lenitive or to prepare coercion. If coercion be unhappily requiſite —if you conſtrain diſcontents to be only in ſecret, diſcuſſion will become conſpiracy, and attempts at redreſs will degenerate into hoſtile projects, ſanguinary in proportion to the danger hazarded in their formation. By the vague wording of this bill, a novel principle ſeems to be introduced into the juriſprudence of this country, namely, that the *Quo animo* is no longer to be a queſtion material in the trial of an indictment.

In all acts puniſhable by the ſtatute book, the *Malus Animus* is an ingredient indiſpenſable to conſtitute offence. A man meeting another in the ſtreet, without provocation kills him; here the malice prepenſe is juſtly inferred, becauſe the act could not ſpring from any other motive; ſtill it is malice that determines between ſuch a caſe, and one that would be deemed juſtifiable homicide. Now, Sir, will any man aſſume an analogy between the obvious motive in ſuch caſes of criminality, and the multifarious conſiderations which may inſtigate free citizens to conſultation on their political circumſtances, Sir, if we plume ourſelves on being really repreſentatives of the people, the very nature of conſtituency implies a right in thoſe who delegate, to weigh the conduct of the perſons whom they have delegated. Will you forbid aſſemblies for this purpoſe? I ſee no exception for this caſe in the bill, all left looſe to be conſtrued according to the paſſion or the intereſt of the hour, without the wholeſome comment of the jury; twelve men, indeed, may be required to find the fact of a perſon's

perſon's having been preſent at an aſſembly, but when they have found it, a judgment very different from their's will have to decide, whether ſuch was the ſpecies of aſſembly which the legiſlature meant to interdict and chaſtiſe.

It is therefore that I wiſh that the meaſure ſhould not extend beyond its propoſed object, the threatened convention at Athlone. Conventions, even the moſt innocent, ſhould be rarely reſorted to; they may be good remedies, but they would be deſperate bad diet. Upon the whole, this queſtion ſhould be argued principally upon its expediency, and I cannot conceive that Adminiſtration may do well to wink at a meaſure at one period, which at another may be wiſe to attend to. The great ſuperintending power of Government ought not to interfere but upon ſubjects of importance.

"*Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus vindice nodus.*"

In the Catholic convention their object was ſo explicit, ſo diſtinct, and ſo upheld by juſtice, that no man had to fear the ſubverſion of ſociety from either the meditated or accidental reſult of their proceedings.—But, Sir, what is the profeſſed purpoſe of this intended convention? Is it not that it ſhould take eſſential government into its own hands? Judge of the temper and equity with which it would adminiſter ſo formidable a ſway. Your property might be the firſt victim to it, but the liberty of the people would be inevitably loſt. I hope, therefore, the right honourable gentleman will ſo model and guard the bill, that we may be enabled to concur with him in reſiſting ſedition or rebellion, ſhould it dare to ſhew itſelf, protecting at the ſame time, as we are bound to do, the juſt and unalienable privileges of a free and loyal people.

Mr. Curran maintained the legality of repreſentative aſſemblies, when appointed for purpoſes different from legiſlation.—The people, when they returned a repreſentative to parliament did not part with all their powers, and they had a right to appoint delegates for the exerciſe of thoſe which they retained. (Mr. Marcus Beresford, in the courſe of his ſpeech, had been particularly ſevere on the laſt Dungannon meeting, for having expreſſed a diſapprobation of the French war, in oppoſition to the ſenſe of the Houſe :) he alluded to this—inſtanced this very right of giving an opinion on parliamentary meaſures, as one which the people were juſtified in exerciſing by delegation. He combated the arguments of Mr. Chamberlain ; ſhewed that it was only through etiquette that the Houſe of Commons would not receive a petition from any aſſembly acting by delegation, becauſe in the inſtances which had been mentioned of the petitions from the Engliſh counties, in the year 1781, it was notorious that the committee which had brought them before parliament, was a delegated repreſentative aſſembly : nay, the circumſtance had been expreſsly ſtated in the Houſe of Commons as a reaſon for refuſing to receive the petition, and had been determined an inſufficient one.

If the people had a right to petition, as was allowed on all hands, they alſo muſt have a right to do ſo in the moſt convenient manner, which was evidently by delegation. Why was the Houſe of Commons elected ?—Why did not the people aſſemble in *pleno comitatu* and exerciſe their rights themſelves as a third eſtate ?—Becauſe ſuch a proceeding muſt be attended with a violation of good order, and muſt be productive of tumult —If on a matter of general concern, the people, exerciſing their undoubted right ſhould meet at large in their reſpective towns and counties to petition, would not the ſame inconvenience follow ?—

Could

Could it be criminal then for the people to govern themſelves in this inſtance by the ſame principle as in exerciſing their legiſlative function?—Certainly not. He then reaſoned from the danger and impolicy of this meaſure at this particular criſis.—He recommended to the Houſe to conſider whether reſtraint impoſed on an unqueſtionable right, would not prompt the people to exerciſe that right through oppoſition, and if it ſhould have that effect, in what ſituation would the Houſe find itſelf with 110 of its members placed and penſioned?

The committee went through the bill, and the Houſe ordered the report to be preſented the following day.

Mr. George Ponſonby ſaid, if the bill only went to prevent repreſentative bodies from aſſuming functions peculiar to parliament, he ſhould not have objected: but if any attack ſhould in future be made on the liberty of the people by any future government, they were deprived by this bill of all means of reſiſting it, but by an appeal to arms.

The bill having been read a third time, was paſſed.

The following bills amongſt others were paſſed during this ſeſſion.——

1. An act for the advancement of trade and manufactures, by granting the ſums therein mentioned for the ſupport of commercial credit.

2. An act more effectually to prevent, during the preſent war, between Great Britain and France, all traitorous correſpondence with or aid or aſſiſtance being given to his Majeſty's enemies.

3. An act for reveſting in his Majeſty the eſtates forfeited in 1688, yet remaining unſold.

4. An

4. An act for the trial of treasons committed out of the King's dominions.

5. An act to remove doubts respecting the functions of juries in cases of libel.

6. An act to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses, to his Majesty or the Parliament.

7. An act for securing the freedom and independency of the House of Commons, by excluding therefrom persons holding any offices under the Crown, to be hereafter created, or holding certain offices therein enumerated, or pensions for terms of years or during his Majesty's pleasure.

8. An act for regulating the trade of Ireland to and from the East Indies, under certain conditions and provisions, for a time therein mentioned.

On the 16th of August, 1793, his Excellency closed the session with the following speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The wisdom and firmness that have distinguished your conduct during the present session, and the attention you have afforded to the many important objects of your deliberations, demand my sincere acknowledgements, and enable me to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have his Majesty's commands to thank you for the liberal supply you have voted for the public service, and for the

the honourable support of his Majesty's government. You may rely upon their faithful application.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" The wisdom and liberality with which you attended to his Majesty's recommendation, in favour of the Roman Catholic subjects, are highly pleasing to the King. You must be fully sensible of his Majesty's gracious condescention in committing to your judgment the application of the hereditary revenue; and I am ordered by his Majesty to signify his approbation of the provisions which have been made for the support of his civil Government, and the honour and dignity of his Crown; and to express his confidence that your liberal concessions to the Roman Catholics, and the measures for the regulation of the public expenditure, and for the limitation of offices and pensions, to which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to consent, with a view to the advantage of the public, will cement a general union of sentiment among all classes of his Majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution.

" His Majesty has seen with real satisfaction that friendly disposition which has been manifested by the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, for strengthening the connection of the two kingdoms by mutual acts of concession. I am authorised to acquaint you, that an act has passed the British parliament to permit goods of Asia, Africa or America, legally imported into Ireland, to be imported from thence into Great Britain. This is a signal proof of her attention to your interests; whilst the confirmation of the charter of the East India Company by the parliament of Ireland displays on your part a cordial zeal for the support of Great Britain, and a judicious consideration of the great and essential interests of the empire.

" I am

"I am to make my acknowledgments for the many ſalutary laws you have enacted to ſtrengthen the executive government, which will materially tend to defeat the deſigns of the enemies to the freedom and happineſs of this kingdom.

"The apprehenſions of embarraſſments, which for a time hung over commercial tranſactions, were to me a ſubject of the utmoſt anxiety; and I am to return you my thanks for ſanctioning thoſe meaſures which I took in ſupport of credit, and which, I truſt, have had the happieſt effect in preventing the ill conſequences of ſuch apprehenſions.

"The ſpirit of diſcontent which prevailed amongſt the lower claſſes of the people at the beginning of the ſeſſion, has ſince burſt into acts of riot and inſurrection; and I have been under the painful neceſſity of employing his Majeſty's forces, whoſe ſteadineſs and good conduct have on all occaſions been manifeſted, and by whoſe exertions the civil magiſtrates have been enabled, in a great meaſure, to reſtore the general tranquillity.

"Under all the circumſtances of the country, I thought it proper to call forth a very conſiderable portion of the militia of this kingdom. I am to expreſs his Majeſty's approbation of a meaſure which affords at preſent material aſſiſtance, and lays the foundation of a permanent conſtitutional force, that has been found by experience in Great Britain of great reſource in public emergencies.

"His Majeſty feels with the greateſt concern the expence brought upon his people by domeſtic diſturbances, added to the conſequences of a foreign war, into which we have been forced by the wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion of France; but you will reflect that you are contending for

the

the preſervation of your property, and for the ſecurity of your happy conſtitution.

"The ſucceſſes with which it has pleaſed the Divine Providence to bleſs the arms of his Majeſty and his allies, afford the beſt proſpect of a happy iſſue to this important conteſt; and it is his Majeſty's earneſt hope that a continuance of vigorous exertions will finally obtain a ſecure and laſting peace.

"I have entire confidence that in your reſpective counties, you will exert your utmoſt influence in maintaining the public tranquillity, and in carrying the laws into full execution. You may be aſſured that I ſhall on all occaſions take the moſt ſpeedy and effectual meaſures, in the exerciſe of thoſe powers with which I am inveſted, for the repreſſion of outrage and tumult, and the protection of his Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects."

After which, the Parliament was prorogued to Wedneſday the 25th day of September next.

CHAP-

CHAP. II.

Session 1794—Lord Lieutenant's speech on opening the session—regulations proposed respecting commerce—parliamentary reform—bill introduced by W. B. Ponsonby, Esq.—speeches of Sir H. Langrish, Mr. Grattan and others—motion to postpone the second reading of the bill—carried—Lord Lieutenant's speech on closing the session.

THE sitting of parliament again commenced on Tuesday, January 21, 1794, when his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant made the following speech to both houses.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have his Majesty's commands to meet you in parliament.

"You must have felt, with the highest satisfaction, that by the success of his Majesty's arms and those of his allies, the hopes of France, in their unprovoked declaration of war, to impair the stability or shake the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, *have been utterly disappointed.*

"The forces of his Majesty and his allies are in possession of many important fortresses which belonged to the French, and many of their oppressive and unjust conquests have been wrested from them; and while the trade of the empire has been generally protected, the resources which our enemies derived from their wealthy settlements and extensive commerce have been almost entirely cut off.

"I have

"I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that the ſpirit of inſurrection which was for ſome time prevalent among the lower orders of the people, is in general ſuppreſſed. No exertion ſhall be wanting on my part to bring them to a due ſenſe of order and ſubordination, and to prevent and puniſh the machinations of thoſe who may aim to ſeduce them from their accuſtomed loyalty into acts of ſedition and outrage.

"The law for rendering a militia in this kingdom effectual has been carried ſucceſsfully into execution; and I am happy to find that *the people are at length fully reconciled to this inſtitution*, which has already been attended by the moſt beneficial conſequences, in producing internal tranquillity, and contributing to the general ſtrength and force of the empire.

"I am commanded to acquaint you that his Majeſty has appointed a commiſſion, under the great ſeal, to execute the office of Lord High Treaſurer of this kingdom, in order that the payment of the civil liſt granted to his Majeſty, and a regular appropriation of the revenue to diſtinct ſervices, may be carried into execution in a manner as conformable to the practice of Great Britain as the relative ſituation of this kingdom will permit.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*,

"I have ordered the national accounts to be laid before you, as well as eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year. It is painful to me to obſerve that the exigencies of the times will require a large ſupply and additional reſources; but when you conſider that this is a war of abſolute neceſſity, and that you are contending for your liberty, property and religion, I doubt not that you will chearfully contribute to ſupport the honour of his Majeſty's crown, and the eſſential intereſts of the kingdom.

"*My*

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" The agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland, the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and various other inſtitutions of public utility, have ſo conſtantly received the benefit of your care and liberality, that I need not particularly at this time, inculcate their importance.

" His Majeſty has the fulleſt reliance upon the loyalty and attachment of his people of Ireland: You are now, by the unjuſt aggreſſion of France, involved in a conteſt for your *religion*, for your *conſtitution*, and for the preſervation of every principle which upholds *ſocial order*, or gives ſecurity to your perſon or properties. In ſuch a cauſe, his Majeſty has no doubt of being cordially ſupported by the efforts of all his ſubjects, in reſiſting the deſperate deſigns of men who are endeavouring to erect their own power and dominion on the ruins of law and order, and to involve every government of Europe in a general ſcence of confuſion and anarchy.

" His Majeſty's object is peace, and he will exert himſelf, in conjunction with his allies, whenever an occaſion ſhall preſent itſelf, for obtaining this deſirable end, without ſurrendering the honour of his crown, or ſacrificing the preſent or future ſecurity of his people and of the reſt of Europe.

" You may depend upon my faithful repreſentations of your ſervices to his Majeſty, and I will zealouſly co-operate with your exertions for the welfare and proſperity of Ireland."

There were but two ſubjects of general importance which ſeem to have engaged the attention of this ſeſſion—One related to our commercial intereſts—the other was, as uſual, a parliamentary reform.

As

As to the firſt Mr. Grattan on the 20 February, after ſome preliminary obſervations reſpecting the cuſtoms payable on Iriſh manufactures when imported into England, and on Britiſh manufactures when imported into Ireland, moved to reſolve, that it would tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, if Iriſh manufactures ſhould be admiſſible into Britain according to the tariff ſettled in Ireland, for duties payable on the importation of Engliſh commodities. He ſaid, it was his firſt idea to have moved an addreſs to the Crown for this purpoſe, but it would be more reſpectful to the Honſe to bring it on in the preſent form.

Mr. Sec. Douglas paid many compliments to the abilities and patriotiſm of Mr. Grattan, but was too recent an inhabitant of this kingdom to have acquired ſuch a knowledge of its commerce, to be able to debate a motion of ſuch importance; beſide, he thought the preſent time rather unfit to agitate a matter that might tend to irritate, and by the paſt conduct of Great Britain it appeared, that ſhe was cordially affected to Ireland, and might of herſelf do every thing that this motion required.—For theſe reaſons, he moved the queſtion of adjournment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer expreſſed his hearty acquieſcence with the principle of the motion, which ſeemed to be admitted unanimouſly by the whole Houſe. He inſtanced, as a proof of the good-will of Great Britain, the conſtruction of the navigation act, according to the wiſhes of Ireland: he agreed with the motion of adjournment.

Mr. Duquery ſaid. the Right Hon. gentleman who had propoſed the reſolution had brought it forward with that temperance, and accurate knowledge of the ſubject, becoming the repreſentative of the firſt city in the kingdom. The right hon. member was one who deſerved the gratitude

of

of the country, and he was ſure no idle compliment from either one ſide of the Houſe or the other would make him ſwerve from his duty. But he profeſſed himſelf aſtoniſhed at the conduct of a right hon. gentleman on the oppoſite ſide of the bench [Sec. Douglas] in moving the previous queſtion, on a propoſition for opening the ports of Great Britain to the manufacture of Ireland. He was ſorry it did not occur to the noble lord who preceded him in office, to move the previous queſtion on the India bill. He was ſure none of the members who attended the debate on that bill, could forget the expreſſions of the noble lord, then oſtenſible miniſter—that if the houſe conſented to the act like men of honour, and like Iriſhmen, he was ſure Britiſh magnanimity would not heſitate to concede equality of commerce. He recollected well the noble lord ſaid, that he could not deliver the ſentiments of the Britiſh cabinet on the ſubject, but if, in our conceſſion of the India trade, nothing of a petty bargain ſhould appear, he was ſure every reaſonable requeſt of Ireland would be acceded to by Great Britain. The right hon. gentleman who has ſucceeded him, now tells the Houſe, the queſtion has become irritating in the ſiſter country; Great Britain, however, was not irritated when we ſurrendered up to her the India trade.

Will any man tell that Houſe, that Great Britain is of ſo haughty a character, that ſhe muſt be fawned upon, and courted to do juſtice?—He did not blame, he ſaid, the right hon. gentleman for moving the queſtion of adjournment.—From his manner, he ſeemed to do it with regret and concern. He conſidered him only as the commiſſioner of the Britiſh cabinet, in whoſe councils he did not ſhare, and who is only to execute their orders as directed. It would be therefore unjuſt to attach any blame to him. If the Houſe ſhould accede to the reſolution, we would not thereby

thereby get the Britiſh tariff:—it muſt be conſidered firſt by the parliament of England; and if it appeared improper to them, they would ſtop it *in limine*. In voting for the reſolution, the Houſe would give to the Britiſh parliament an opportunity of diſcuſſing the queſtion, and of expoſing that commercial folly, which it was ſaid exiſted. He thought, therefore, they ought not adjourn the queſtion, until a comprehenſion of mind was reſtored to the people of Great Britain.

He did not doubt, he ſaid, but Great Britain had a regard for Ireland: ſhe ought to have it. If ſhe had been formerly impreſſed with the ſame ſentiments, ſhe would at the preſent day be the moſt powerful empire on earth. At that inauſpicious period, when the woollen trade of Ireland was ſurrendered to Britiſh monopoly, there were but 34 gentlemen in this Houſe to come forward in behalf of their country: and if the Houſe ſhould this night vote for the queſtion of adjournment, he did not think they would be much better. He could not help impreſſing on the mind of the right hon. gentlemen the injuſtice of admitting France to commercial advantages from which Ireland is excluded. To give, he ſaid, an idea of the commercial diſadvantages under which Ireland labours, in her intercourſe with England, it might not be unneceſſary to ſtate a few items from the tariffs of both countries, How then ſtand the tariffs on woollen cloths, or what is called old drapery?—In Great Britain, there is an import duty of 2*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* per yard on Iriſh woollens; while the duty on Engliſh woollens imported into Ireland, amounts to no more than 50*d.* per yard!—On woollen ſtuffs and mixed goods, or what is called new drapery, the ſame ſyſtem of hoſtility to the manufactures of Ireland has been followed by the parliament of Great Britain. The import duty from Ireland into England is 6*s.* per yard; and from Great Britain here, only 1*d*½. Cotton goods

goods were admitted here at a duty of 10 per cent.—in England the duty is 30 per cent. Printed linens, notwithſtanding all that is ſaid of the protection afforded by Great Britain to the linen manufacture of Ireland, are ſubject to an import duty there of 65 per cent. while here they are admitted at 10 per cent. Our manufacture has been conſidered ſufficient for upwards of four million of people; but he would beg to know, was not ſuch a diſproportion of duties calculated to deſtroy even that? Ireland had not, he ſaid, been more than thirty years in poſſeſſion of the manufacture of printed linens, when England laid on a heavier duty, to enable her to rival us.—After trying the experiment, ſhe found ſhe could not; and the conſequence was, that the trade went into the hands of the Germans, the Hollanders, and the Swiſs. Thus the trade was loſt to Ireland, without being the ſmalleſt advantage to Great Britain. The manufacture of ſail-cloth in like manner, was riſing in this country, about the year 1750, to a very flouriſhing ſtate, until checked by the monopolizing ſpirit of England; which, however, has not been productive to the latter nation of any advantage. So that Ireland might, with reſpect to theſe particulars, tell Great Britain, you have "robbed us of that which nought enriched you, but makes us poor indeed."

He obſerved that when, in the year 1785, this nation was given to underſtand that a commercial adjuſtment with Great Britain was about to take place, 140,000*l.* annually, of new taxes, were impoſed on that preſumption; and to this day the nation remains without any equivalent. We cheerfully acceded, laſt ſeſſions of parliament, to the monopoly of the India Company for 21 years, and at that time the noble lord who conducted the affairs of government, ſaid the accommodation ſhould take place.

He

He made no doubt but ſome gentlemen would be highly gratified that the ſeſſion ſhould paſs over without any debate: theſe might, however, find themſelves diſappointed. Nations, he ſaid, were born to aſſiſt nations, in like manner as men were born to aſſiſt men; and the more exactly Great Britain and Ireland ſquared their reciprocal commercial and political intercourſe by this maxim, the more proſperous would be the common affairs of both.—England was peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of fine woollen cloaths, and might, therefore, leave to Ireland the advantages on courſe woollens. It begins now to be known, that the ſpirit of monopoly is as injurious to trade, as that of conqueſt is to the happineſs of ſociety. It is better for mankind to aſſiſt each other, than deſtroy each other. The tendency to the former is natural to the human heart, and is done by the wiſdom of God; the latter proceeds only from the depraved policy of man. The conſequence of depriving Ireland of the woollen manufacture was to throw that trade directly into the hands of France, to the detriment of Great Britan And Sir Mathew Decker, than whom no higher authority on the ſubject of trade can be adduced, is of opinion, that the rivalry of France would not have become ſo formidable to Great Britain, but for the reſtrictions laid on the woollen trade of Ireland: and if the two nations would not ſuffer themſelves to be divided in ſentiment on account of the narrow gut of ocean which ſeparates them, they would both become more great and proſperous.—This ſeſſion a great ſubſidy had, he ſaid, been voted to Great Britain, for the purpoſe of carrying on the war with the greater effect.—Are we then to be joined in war with Great Britain, but excluded from her commerce? —The linen manufacture may, perhaps, be ſufficient for Ulſter; but is Munſter to droop in poverty? He entertained too high an opinion of the Britiſh miniſters, to think they would yield to the folly of the manufacturers, or be

thereby induced to poſtpone meaſures, which they muſt be convinced are for the common intereſt of the empire. When a commercial adjuſtment was in diſcuſſion in the year 1785, the Britiſh manufacturers only mentioned their doubts to the miniſtry, with reſpect to the manufactures of glaſs, pottery, and a few other trifling articles. He would be glad to know what new circumſtance had produced the preſent alleged irritation? The reſolution propoſed by the right hon. gentleman did not go to agitate any political queſtion. It went only to procure the Britiſh duties to be lowered to the Iriſh tariff, which muſt be finally adjuſted in the parliament of Great Britain. And he thought that in voting the reſolution, we were but doing our duty as the repreſentatives of Ireland.

Mr. Vandeleur ſaid that the year 1779, when this queſtion was firſt brought forward, was a period of more anxiety to Great Britain than the preſent. The right hon. gentleman may, thereby, be under no apprehenſion to permit the queſtion to go before the Britiſh parliament. It cannot prove irritating to any Britiſh manufacturer of underſtanding. The woollen trade of Ireland being now reduced to a very low ſtate, he could not believe the aſſertion founded, that the agitation of the preſent queſtion had cauſed irritation in the people of Great Britain;---but if it had, it ought to be finally ſettled.---Since the trade of Scotland had been relieved from reſtrictions, a new manufacture had ariſen in that country without injuring the trade of England; and if the reſtrictions were taken off the Iriſh trade, the ſame thing might happen here. Since 1779, when the firſt relaxation of the commercial reſtraints of Ireland took place, the manufactures of England had entered here in greater quantities than ever; ſo that, inſtead of being diſadvantageous to Great Britain, it has been beneficial.—The yearly amount of the Britiſh manufactures imported here at that period amounted only

only to 300,000*l.* whereas laſt year they amounted to 800,000*l.* The opening therefore of the ports of Ireland to export her manufactures, has ſerved England materially. After ſome obſervations, he concluded with ſaying, that if the right hon. gentleman would ſatisfy the Houſe, that he would ſubmit the caſe to the Engliſh government, he would be ſatisfied; otherwiſe he would vote for the queſtion.

Mr Ponſonby. Mr. Corry, and Mr. Brooke, ſupported the motion for paſſing the reſolution; and the queſtion being loudly called for,

Mr. Grattan ſaid, that as both ſides of the houſe ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied of the juſtice and propriety of the accommodation ſought for, he would not therefore divide the houſe on the queſtion, as it might imply a diſtraction of ſentiment, which did not exiſt; although if the previous queſtion was put on the reſolution, he could not, for conſiſtency ſake, but vote againſt it.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Wm. Brabazon Ponſonby roſe to preſent this promiſed bill, for amending and improving the ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament.—Laſt ſeſſion, he ſaid, he took up the ſubject. The bill, which towards the cloſe of it was preſented by his right hon. relative in his abſence, had been received in ſuch a manner as induced him to hope that its principle met the approbation of the Houſe. He could not, however, foreſee what reception the bill which he was now about to preſent would receive.—He knew not whether the country or the houſe had changed their opinion on the ſubject, but for himſelf, he certainly had not changed his opinion. On the contrary, what had happened ſince that time had rendered his opinion more deciſive. There was one capital objection which then exiſted againſt the meaſure, but which is

now done away. The country was then in a ſtate of diſturbance, it was now in perfect tranquillity. He preſented the bill, which was read; and, on motion for a ſecond reading,

Sir H. Langriſhe ſaid, he had ſo often and ſo recently preſſed upon the Houſe his ſentiments on the ſubject of parliamentary reform, as it is called, that he neither found himſelf inclined, nor did he think he would be juſtifiable to take up much of their time on the preſent occaſion; however, as he had always oppoſed this meaſure on general principles, as tending to ſhake the ſtability of a conſtitution which had been formed by the progreſſive wiſdom of ages—as tending to detach the public mind from a veneration for an ancient eſtabliſhment, and ſet it looſe into the mazes of ſpeculation and experiment; he could not prevail on himſelf to be altogether ſilent, when the temper of the times and the condition of the ſurrounding world furniſhed ſuch new and important admonition on the ſubject. He objected to the agitation of the queſtion at this tjme. He objected to this bill as he did to the bill of the laſt ſeſſion, becauſe it led to an object, in his opinion, neither conducive to our freedom nor compatible with our tranquillity: he objected to it, becauſe it juſtified the popular demand by conceding to the principle; and it diſappoints the popular demand by the meaſure of its conceſſion: he objected to the bill as it flatters requiſition by the appearance of a victory, and embitters it by the acrimony of diſappointment. The raſh career and fatal conſequences of a reforming ſpirit have lately been brought before our view by facts ſo ſtriking and impreſſive, that what was formerly conjecture is now conviction; and if we will not profit by the example of others, we may poſſibly add to future misfortunes the aggravation of ſelf reproach. Upon a former occaſion, he had ſtated more at large than he ſhould now do, the progreſs of reform in France till reform became ſubverſion; he had ſtated many

many things then as a prophet, which he might now ſtate as an hiſtorian.

The progreſs is natural; and is applicable as a warning to every country in Europe—for there is ſo much of uniformity in the nature and proceedings of man, that in their combinations almoſt always ſimilar cauſes produce ſimilar effects—ſimilar conditions, ſimilar conſequences; and therefore, I do not heſitate to ſay, with every degree of reſpect and affection for the people, acting within their proper ſphere—with every degree of conviction, that their happineſs is the end and the object of every good government; I do not heſitate to ſay, that there never has been an inſtance in any age or country, in which political power has been aſſumed by the loweſt orders of the people—by thoſe whoſe education is ignorance—whoſe condition is uncertainty—whoſe patrimony is hope—and whoſe empire muſt be commotion—which has not proved ſubverſive of liberty, deſtructive of the general happineſs, and peculiarly unfortunate to thoſe who are the authors of it.

Let us not deceive ourſelves by calling the calamity of France French cruelty—it is French anarchy: diſſolve but the ties that hold mankind together—diſſolve but the reſtriction of laws, the obligations of religion, the mutual dependency and ſubordination of ſettled ſociety, and man becomes as ferocious as the tiger in the foreſt. I do not adopt the philoſophy of Mr. Hobbes, or any of the theoriſts, as to the original ſtate of nature; I only ſpeak of man breaking looſe from the bonds of ſociety, in which caſe the different diſpoſitions and genius of different countries, have always aſſimilated, and aſſimilated in ferocity. If the French have murdered their king, ſacrificed their prieſts on their altars, and exterminated their beſt citizens, we cannot forget the baniſhment of Ariſtides, or the death of Socrates,

or

or the ridiculous cruelty that baniſhed Timotheus, only for adding four ſtrings to the lyre. Popular domination has ever been cruel and unjuſt; and every friend to freedom and to order, to virtue and to happineſs, ſhould guard againſt its approaches with as much vigilance as we ſhould guard the roads that lead to life and death—In the year 1789, the æra of the firſt reform in France, the elective franchiſe was aſcertained and confined to active citizens, men of certain qualifications, of age and property; this was the baſis of their firſt great reform. But this reform was ſoon thought inadequate—as the right hon. member's reform would ſoon be thought here: Conceſſion proved but the parent of demand, and the redreſs of grievances the approbation of diſcontent. The people felt ſucceſs as a teſtimony of power, and began to ſpeculate inſtead of to enjoy: They perceived that in their twenty-ſix millions of people there were not three millions of active citizens, and that the immediate electors were not in the proportion of one to an hundred of the people. The great majority of the people, who conſidered themſelves the authors and the object of the reform, began to diſcover that they were unrepreſented, "and being unrepreſented, their new philoſophy taught them that they were ſlaves, and that perſonal repreſentation was neceſſary to liberty; and by the uſual revolutionary expedients of clubs and conventions, and armed citizens, they ſpeedily accompliſhed their object—an equal repreſentation of all the people—and with that the democracy of France."

You ſee, Sir, that the temperate reform was the rudiments of all that followed; it was the firſt prize of political diſquiſition—it was the firſt trophy of popular ſucceſs. However, it was not the end but the means; it was the inſtrument and not the object. And to ſhew you how rapid are the ſtrides of innovation when it is once in motion, permit

permit me to obſerve, that even the democracy of France was of ſhort duration ; it paſſed away like the whirlwind of the wilderneſs, deſolating but tranſitory, and ſoon yielded —as every popular inſurrection has ever done, to the predominant tyranny of ſome of the moſt contemptible of its leaders, who however, had the dexterity " to ride in that whirlwind, and direct the ſtorm."—What then becomes of the fathers of temperate reform ? Where is the Duke de Rochefoucault —the Duke Briſſac—the eloquent Clermont-Tonnere—the learned and acute advocate M. de Paſcalis ? They are no more ! neither their talents nor their virtues, nor the ſplended raſhneſs of their firſt enterprize, could atone for their ſubſequent moderation ; they fell victims to the ſpirit of innovation which themſelves had inſpired. With ſuch an example before your eyes, will you at this day talk of a temperate reform ? or do you imagine your temperate bill, which out of four millions of people leaves 3,800,000 people unrepreſented (19 in 20 of the people)—do you imagine it would ſatisfy this great majority of the people, whom it does not comprehend ? No ! no !—you would only inſpire their hopes, whilſt you diſappoint their wiſhes ; and animate their efforts by flattering their pretenſions—The people who were clamorous for reform would deſpiſe your temperate plan, except only as one ſtate gained in the great career.—I ſay, they would deſpiſe it, becauſe they have ſaid ſo themſelves—they have over and over again, demanded and defined their ultimatum of reform, " An equal repreſentation of all the people." In the laſt ſeſſion, I gave you at large a detail of their requiſitions on this ſubject, taken from the minutes of their aſſociations, and their clubs, and their armed citizens, in which they have told you explicitly, " they will not lay down their arms till they procure an equal repreſentation of all the people ;" and a recent publication by a ſociety called the United Iriſhmen, is not more explicit in the recommenda-

tion

tion of their own plan, than in their contempt of your's. They tell you "they firmly believe adminiſtration and oppoſition are equally averſe from the meaſure of adequate reform." They ſay, "If they had no other reaſon for that opinion, the plan laid before parliament in the laſt ſeſſion, (the preſent bill) under the auſpices of oppoſition, might convince them of the melancholy truth."—As to their own plan they have given you a full and faithful delineation of it. It is founded on a decided principle, and goes to a decided purpoſe—perſonal repreſentation detached from property, univerſal ſuffrage and pure democracy.

He ſaid, he knew very well the right hon. gentleman who propoſed this meaſure, and the hon. gentleman who aſſociates with him in its ſupport, have too great a ſtake in the country, too high a public character, too much of perſonal integrity, to ſuffer them to become acceſſary to ſuch dangerous notions; at the ſame time, if they give the authority of partial conceſſion to extravagant demand, they will find that neither their intereſts nor their character, reſpectable as I know they are, will have authority to repreſs its growth or controul its exceſs. It is impoſſible to look into the peculiar ſituation of this country, and the condition of the world around us, without, ſeeing that this is not time to agitate queſtions of political experiment. We know that the moſt indefatigable induſtry has been employed to corrupt the minds of the people, to inſpire them with new notions of government, new models of conſtitution, and new conditions of obedience. We know that innovation has been held out to the reſtleſs—commotions to the diſaffected; and the poor have had the falſe goſpel of equality preached unto them. We know that the moſt populous nation in Europe has declared hoſtility againſt every ſettled government exiſting—that they have added the force of enthuſiaſm to the fury of an unholy war; a ſort of anti-croiſade,

anti-croiſade, in which they bear the guillotine againſt the croſs, and with the impetuoſity of a ſpurious chivalry, endeavour to ſpread their arms and their infidelity all over the world. It is of little conſequence to us, what ſpecies of government or anarchy they may chooſe for themſelves, if they would keep it to themſelves; but the liberality of their zeal diſdains ſuch monopoly—they ſend out miſſionaries to propagate their doctrines, and in this country as well as in Great Britain, they muſt have made ſome proſelytes, becauſe in every country there are many to be found, "*Quos ad perturbandam Republicam inopia atque mali mores ſtimulant.*" And they further tell us, "that this invaſion of your principles ſhall be followed by an invaſion of your land." We read in their public records that the Miniſter of Juſtice propoſes "a Committee of Inſurrection, for the expreſs purpoſe of overturning every exiſting monarchy in Europe." They vote, "that the National Convention of France be a Committee of Inſurrection againſt all the Kings in the univerſe;" and they actually appoint a choſen band to be their aſſaſſins. They decree in the name of the French nation, "that they will aſſiſt every country who wiſhes to recover their liberty;" and they charge the executive power in a decree, tranſlated into all languages, "to give the commanders of the French armies orders to protect the citizens of every country who may be diſturbed or vexed for the cauſe of their liberty:" inviting all nations who wiſh to recover their rights, "to apply to their generals for aſſiſtance;" which is to ſolicit revolt in all countries. The perſeverance of their activity was equal to the boldneſs of their principles, and in violation of their diſclaim of conqueſt, they made Savoy an 84th department of France.

Is it then poſſible that at this time, and under all the circumſtances of the world, we ſhould for a moment engage ourſelves

ourſelves in problematical experimentsl on a conſtitution which we know is competent to all the ends of civil liberty and progreſſive happineſs? that we ſhould turn the minds of the people from the duties of a critical ſituation?—that we ſhould, as it were, tamper with turbulence, and favour diſquiſitions which would make the people politicians inſtead of husbandmen; and agitators inſtead of defenders of their country? As to the objections to the bill itſelf, though I think them great and numerous, I yet think they are loſt in the predominant objection to your agitating the queſtion at all at this time. As the bill is the bill of the laſt ſeſſion, in entering into the particulars I ſhould only repeat what I ſaid before. I objected to it then, as I do now, that it is incompetent to the end propoſed, and would be utterly unſatisfactory to the people it profeſſes to gratify; that it does not improve or extend the baſis of repreſentation, that it renders the repreſentation of the people ſtill more unequal—and that on the whole it is a transfer of power, and not a reform in parliament. And as to the Houſe of Commons, conſtituted and compoſed as it is at preſent, although the waſte of ſome places, and the growth of others, muſt perpetually vary the proportions of its own conſtituency, I am yet bold to ſay, it is at this day an adequate repreſentation of the property of the kingdom. That in its proceedings you cannot trace any provocation to change it, becauſe you know that for ſeveral years paſt it has been engaged in the uniform practice, ſeſſion after ſeſſion, of adding ſome new protection to conſtitutional liberty—ſome new advancement to the proſperity of the country; and that to hazard ſuch a condition of progreſſive happineſs in the lottery of experiment of adventure, would at all times be raſhneſs, and at this time infatuation. Under ſuch impreſſions, he ſaid, he muſt naturally wiſh to put an end to the diſcuſſion; and to do ſo in the manner moſt reſpectful to the right hon. member, he ſhould move,

move, "That the bill be read a second time on the 1st of Auguſt."

Dr. Browne ſaid, that though he had no new ſentiments to offer on this occaſion, he thought it juſt to ſpeak, in order to ſhew that he was at his poſt.—What he had to offer, he thought he ſhould addreſs to the right hon. baronet who oppoſed the bill, as the gentlemen on the other ſide ſeemed to have elected him their perſonal repreſentative. The arguments he had offered might be reduced to three heads:

The example of what had happened in France;
The danger of innovation; and,
The proper conduct of parliament.

The example of France made againſt the right hon. baronet, for the reaſon of all the miſchiefs which had happened in that country, was not having timely yielded to a moderate reform. The way to avoid ſimilar miſchiefs in this country was to concede that reformation early, which, if not conceded will, at laſt, be effected by violence. What time could be better for reform than the preſent? From what he had ſeen he was convinced that a time of terror only would be thought a time for reform. He reprobated the conduct of the French, but he could not help ſeeing, nevertheleſs, the abuſes of the old government of France, as well as the preſent abuſes of our own government. He did not wiſh to imitate all the conduct of the French, but wiſhed that Houſe ſo far reſembled the French convention as that a member riſing to ſpeak in a debate might be more able to influence its deciſion than the miniſter;—he might wiſh perhaps to go further, and that the miniſters here, as there, were rather ſtanding at the bar as ſervants, than directing the Houſe as maſters. He denied the principle that all have a right to a ſhare in the government of a country.

As

As well might every child assume a share in the direction of family concerns. This plan of universal representation had sometimes before been attempted to be introduced. Colonel Ireland, in the great rebellion, had attempted it, but he was obliged to make some limitations, and excluded from the franchise all those who did not pay taxes, servants, and all who lived on charity. The plan was therefore impracticable, as it was dangerous. There were, however, many moderate men who entertained no such romantic notions, and yet have looked long with horror at the abuses of ministers, and for a reform in the representation. These would probably not be seditious, but they might be prompted to stand neuter in the moment of commotion, and possibly might at last be even prompted to an extreme.

These men should be satisfied as to the good conduct of parliament; they certainly had of late years done some good, but they had always done it in the hour of danger and the day of calamity—they did good only when they were driven to it. He concluded by declaring, he would support the bill now, and whenever it should be brought forward, and he hoped it would be repeatedly brought forward, till it should be at length obtained. It would be the rejection, not the discussion of it, which would now irritate the public mind.

Mr. Grattan said, the bill before you has been called a transfer of property—it is not so; the gentlemen who make the charge have not read the bill; it is not a transfer of the borough from A. to B. but from A. to all those who have the adjacent interests landed or commercial, to all who have estates, freehold, or terms for years, (for they must be included) or have carried on a trade for a certain time within a circle of 24 miles. If any one man has all the lands and towns within that circle, he probably will influence the

the return, but ſuch eſtates are ſcarcely to be found in this kingdom, and when they are found they will have their influence under any reform, unleſs you chooſe to rob the proprietor, in order to amend the repreſentation; and even in the caſe of ſuch eſtates, as in caſes of great county intereſt, the return may be influenced, but it cannot be ſold. This proprietary influence you may call the influence of the landlord on his tenants, but it is alſo the influence of the tenant on the landlord, and the reſpectability of both, inſtead of being, as now, the inſignificance of the latter and the property of that perſon who is a lanldord, and whoſe beſt eſtate is his twelve burgeſſes; this borough-monger it extinguiſhes, and leads to a milder communication of manners as well as diffuſion of influence between landlord and tenant, with an additional temptation of reſidence to the former and improvement to the latter; it is in ſhort, an open of 200 ſeats to property, to talents, and to both mixed, to be elected by the yeomanry and citizens.

We have in this plan committed no violence on the principles of the conſtitution, and ſcarcely any on its geography. We have added one member to the counties and the three great cities, becauſe we think the landed intereſt is not proportionally repreſented, and the miniſterial intereſt beyond all proportion repreſented; and we have extended the boundary of the borough, becauſe we find in the old boundary nothing to repreſent; we have not extended the boundary to the whole of the county, becauſe we would not extinguiſh or overbalance an integral part of the parliament, the citizens and burgeſſes; and we have extended the line beyond the borough, to a line of 24 miles, to encompaſs a maſs of landed intereſt as long as land is productive, and commercial intereſt; if within 24 miles any commerce ſhall exiſt, as commerce ſhall within that diſtrict encreaſe and flouriſh, its balance on the return will encreaſe, and there will

will yet remain a great landed intereſt in the repreſentation; even though commerce ſhould within that diſtrict totally decline. Thus we have as far as is practicable provided againſt the effect of the fluctuation of property, we have not corrected oligarchy, as was erroneouſly objected to us, by oligarchy, but by ariſtocracy and democracy mixed: by landed property and by democracy of cities. We have applied the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution to the ſtate of Iriſh property with a deciſive advantage for the preſent, and with ſuch growing advantages to the future, as muſt ariſe from the growth of commerce and the growing diffuſion of riches! Weigh then the objections to the bill, and you will find they amount either to a depreciation of the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution in their application to Ireland, or to a demand for an Agrarian law.

I do not ſay that this bill in its preſent ſhape is perfect, on the contrary, I would wiſh to propoſe conſiderable alterations—the franchiſe ſhould be extended to terms for years-perhaps ſome other alterations, the duration of parliament ſhould be diminiſhed, the powers of the corporation to make voters totally extinguiſhed;—after theſe amendments, I do not ſay the bill would be then an exact repreſentation of the property of the country or of the propertied part of the community; no, becauſe that is impoſſible and that is unneceſſary; no, but it would be a ſubſtantial repreſentation of both—that is, it would anſwer all the political purpoſes of adequate repreſentation; it would be *quod erat deſideratum*—it would not be arithmetically equal, but it would be ſubſtantially and practically adequate; it would give to the maſs of property, commercial and landed, inſtead of a fourth, the whole of the return of members to ſerve in parliament, and with the maſs of property it would give you the beſt chance for the maſs of talents. But, ſays my right hon. friend, why agitate the people now? we have not created,

ated, we have found the agitation of this ſubject, and therefore the queſtion is not now, whether we ſhall agitate, but abandon this ſubject; and ſure I am that we ſhould agitate the people much more by renouncing, than by purſuing their great object, a more equal repreſentation of the people; we ſhould then leave them at large on this ſubject to their own deſpair, or to thoſe deſperate ſuggeſtions which every ſeditious bungler may propoſe, while the abuſes of your repreſentation abandoned to ſuch hands make every quack a doctor, and every fool a philoſopher.—Sir, it is the excellence of your conſtitution that it contains in itſelf the ſeeds of its own reformation, and to this excellence I attribute its duration; other countries have preſerved abuſes until they accumulated and were finally levelled indeed, but with the eſtabliſhments themſelves, by the deluge of anarchy, inſtead of being removed by a reformation. You yourſelves to a degree were ſenſible of this; have made reforms in the executive and in the judicial branches, but in the repreſentation you however have none, and without reforms in the latter, you will have made none of any great effect in the former; for until the preſent repreſentation is reformed, your bench of juſtice, your executive power, your Houſe of Peers, will be from time to time, as they have been, contaminated,—by ſacrificing the firſt now and then to the application of the borough-monger, by modelling the ſecond merely to gratify the ſame borough-monger, and by the ſale of the peerage for the borough-monger, to the diſgrace of one houſe, and the corruption of both. So ſtrongly am I of this opinion, that I imagine with a reform in the abuſe of repreſentation, all the other abuſes would be quelled; whereas without it the reform of the other abuſes will be but plauſible and palliative. But, ſays the right hon. baronet, is not this reform a ſtep to a ſucceſſion of innovation? He goes farther, he ſays, does it not lead to perſonal repreſentation? to which I directly anſwer, it

leads

leads from perſonal repreſentation, not to it, it aſcertains repreſentation to property, and to the propertied community, and whatever force, weight, influence, or authority both poſſeſs, unites them againſt the attempt in favour of perſonal repreſentation.

Freeholders, leaſeholders, and all reſident trading intereſts, are now in the ſtruggle of our parliamentary conſtitution ſpectators; they would then be parties.—They now enjoy a power of returning one-fifth of the houſe, and therefore are little intereſted for it, and that they may have a ſpeculation on the intereſt that might ariſe to them on throwing up that fifth, and dividing the whole with population; they therefore ſome of them may be parties againſt it, but if they had the whole of the return they would then be the proprietors, and they would defend the parliamentary conſtitution againſt innovation, with the ſame zeal with which the oligarchiſt now defends his boroughs againſt reformation; but with this difference, that the exiſting parliamentary conſtitution would then be defended againſt innovation with the ſtrength of all the property and all the propertied public, whereas it is now defended with the ſtrength of about 40 individuals, and about 200,000*l.* rental, that is, without the ſtrength of population or of property; and it is a decided proof of its weakneſs; that the borough-mongers could not now defend it without the influence of Government, and a further proof of its weakneſs is the propoſal of a plan of perſonal repreſentation. Sir, could ſuch a monſter be offered as a propoſal that the perſons who receive alms ſhould vote the taxes, if there was not another monſter much leſs miſproportioned, but a monſter notwithſtanding in the exiſting conſtitution, where a few individuals, as little the property of the country as its population, vote thoſe taxes.—It follows from what I have ſaid, that the beſt method of ſecuring the parliamentary conſtitution

is

is to embody in its support the mass of property which will be generally found to include the mass of talents, and that the worst way of securing your parliamentary constitution is to rest it on oligarchy, oligarchy that is a bad form of government, oligarchy that is always a weak one.

But, says the right hon. baronet, France! take warning from France.—If France is to be a lesson, take the whole of that lesson; if her frantic convention is to be a monitress against the vices of a republic, let the causes which produced that convention be an admonition against the abuses of monarchy. France would reform nothing until abuses accumulated, and government was swept away in a deluge, until an armed force redressed the state, and then, as will be generally the case, united on becoming the government. It was not a progress from reformation to innovation, but from one modification of a military government, that is, of one anarchy to another; in principle therefore the case of France does not apply, in policy still less; for sure I am, if there is any attempt to introduce the rebellious graces of a republic into these countries, the best precaution is to discountenance them by the sober attractions of a limited monarchy, and the worst precaution is to preserve all the abuses of the latter to pre-engage men against the vices of the former.

On this principle I conceive the enemies to the constitution are the extremes, the advocate for its abuses, and the leveller of its establishments. The advocate for its abuses, in his discourse published in the last summer, and circulated in both countries against the Catholic bill, the reform of parliament, and the people of Ireland, falsifies the origin of the Commons in order to support the defects in the representation. He states, that the Commons were seldom called, and then only for subsidy, and this he calls the original purity of the English constitution. The period

of its formation as beſt aſcertained was the time of the Edwards; and in the reign of Edward I. there were about 25 parliaments; in the reign of Edward II. about 11; and in that of Edward III. about 70 great councils or parliaments, and to theſe parliaments you find the Commons were ſummoned; therefore it is ignorance to ſay, that the Commons were ſeldom ſummoned, and it is no leſs ignorance to ſay they were only ſummoned for money; for you will in the different parliaments of thoſe reigns, find the Commons occupied with the ſubjects of war, peace, treaty, the regulation of the houſehold, the regulation of the king's councellors, the ſtaple, the coinage, the price of proviſion, the conduct of miniſters, and the making of laws.

And if authority was neceſſary to ſupport hiſtory, you find in the reign of Richard II. the ſtatute of hereſy taken off the roll, becauſe ſmuggled through parliament without the aſſent of the Commons. You find Blackſtone expreſs in declaring, that the principle of the conſtitution of parliament as it now ſtands was laid in the charter, and that it exiſted in fact ever ſince the reign of Henry III. You will find writs extant, and the purpoſes for which the Commons were called, viz. the *ardana regni*, not ſubſidy, expreſſed in thoſe writs, and you will for the whole conclude, that this advocate for abuſes has traduced the inheritance of the people, and that inſtead of being called ſeldom, and then only for money, the Commons were in the purity of the conſtitution an eſſential part of the legiſlation; and you will alſo find that they were the repreſentative of landed and commercial property. In tracing the errors of this patron of abuſes, you arrive at the truths which have confuſed him—He had probably heard of a general and a particular parliament, but had not learned to diſtinguiſh the purpoſes for which they were called, the general

general parliament being called for pupoſes affecting the realm, the particular, which is properly called a great council, for purpoſes affecting the order of men only, of which that council was compoſed; probably the uncertainty of the writ of ſummons was another cauſe of his confuſion, but he ſhould have underſtood the reaſon, and then he would have learned that the writ followed the property, and when the borough was decayed was not directed thereunto. Thus in 34 of Edward I. you find a ſummons to parliament of one or two burgeſſes from each borough, as the boroughs ſhall be found greater or leſs; why? becauſe the repreſentation had reference to the property, and not to the name; becauſe though the Commons were an eſſential part of the parliament, the particular borough was not an eſſential part of the Commons; becauſe in the origin of the conſtitution there was a principle of reform as well as of property, which principle was then very improperly exerciſed by act of prerogative, and which it is now very properly propoſed ſhould be exerciſed by act of legiſlation.

The advocate for the abuſes having falſified the origin of the Commons, proceeds to falſify the importance, and with precipitate ignorance and ſhallow preſumption, tells us that the ſecurity of the liberty of the people is placed in the ariſtocratic influence of their repreſentatives; and the ignorance of his obſervation he applies not only to Ireland but, to Great Britain; as the Engliſh Commons encreaſed in ariſtocratic influence, ſays the patron of abuſes, their liberties were beſt defended. It is not ſo, it is almoſt directly the contrary. If he meant by ariſtocratic influence borough influence, he talks idly, and if he means wealth he expreſſeſs himſelf improperly; liberty was not beſt defended as the Commons became an ariſtocratic power, but as ariſtocratic wealth and feudal principality were alienated, melted, and

diffuſed among the Commons; not as the Commons ceaſed to be Commons, but as great men became Commons by alienation, and ſmall men became ſuch by commerce, as the Commons grew in wealth the better to combat that ariſtocratic influence, and not as they themſelves became a part of that influence and ceaſed to be Commons. To the ariſtocratic power, which the patron of abuſes would ſet up as the bulwark of freedom, muſt we attribute the fall of freedom and the cataſtrophe of kings. To this muſt we attribute the barons war and five depoſitions, and to the diminution of that power are we to attribute the bill of rights and the revolution, both carried in the Commons againſt the alterations and interpolations attempted by this ariſtocratic interpoſition and influence. It is true, though the power of the baron is gone, the influence of the borough patron remains; and therefore, though there is no civil war there will continue to be faction. For wherever the powers of the conſtitution fall into the hands of an oligarchy, the crown and the people muſt alternately capitulate, the one for his freedom and the other for his prerogative; and if I were to come to any general concluſion on this part of the ſubject, it would be that the diſturbance of Government has been the effect of the prevalence of oligarchy, and the freedom of the people the effect of its decline.

I do not preſs the patron of abuſe with the recollection of the cauſes which recovered and ſecured the liberty of his own country; he has had very little to ſay to them; but let me inſtruct him and tell him that the beſt ſecurities for the liberty of the people is their wealth, and the adequate repreſentation of that wealth, and the public ſpirit animating that repreſentation, and if the exiſting repreſentation is too contracted to ſuffer thoſe energies to act within the frame of the conſtitution, that frame is defective and the liberties of your country are in danger, or the framer of your conſtitution.

The

The patron of abuſes having attacked the principles of the conſtitution, at laſt confeſſes his own, and tells you that parliament ſhould not be independent, that is, it ought to be corrupt, and the profligacy of his opinion he attempts to ſupport by the miſapplication of his caſes; and he mentions, as inſtances of independency, the long parliament that was not independent, but dragooned, and the National Convention of France that is dragooned likewiſe; but after ſuch a declaration, I ſhould ſcorn to argue with the inapplication of his caſes, or the weakneſs of his logic; but I muſt proteſt againſt the profligacy of his doctrines—doctrines ſubverſive of liberty, of government, Britiſh connection and moral obligation. Worſe even than the abuſes ſo defended is a plan I have ſeen for their reformation, perſonal or individual repreſentation.

The principle of ſuch a plan is a complete, avowed, and unqualified departure from the vital and fundamental article of the Britiſh conſtitution, in practice and in theory; and I muſt ſay, ſuch an outſet requires no ſmall degree of miſchievous and ſenſeleſs temerity. With equal folly does this plan violate the deareſt rights of man, for if there is one right of man entirely indiſputable, it is that which gives to the individual in particular, and the community in general, the fruits of his and of their induſtry; thus the paſſenger through your field, or the labourer on your farm, has no right to make rules for the management of the farm, nor have the aggregate of labourers or of non-proprietors a right to make rules or ordinances for the land farms or trade of the community.

This reaſoning applies very ſtrongly to the caſe of Ireland, becauſe it appeared on the hearth-money ſurvey of the laſt year, that thoſe who were to be exempted from the hearth-money for want of property, were more than half of our inhabitants.

inhabitants. It was beſides inſiſted on by the objectors to reform on the principle of property, that ſuch a principle excluded the majority; it follows that the plan which gives votes to all the inhabitants, and gives away to that majority the fruits of the induſtry of the community, gives away the eſtate of the landholder, the farm of the freeholder, the leaſe of the leaſeholder, and the trade of the citizen, to be ordered and diſpoſed of by a majority, who are confeſſed to have neither eſtate, nor farm, nor leaſe, nor trade. That is the plan that robs the individual, and the community of the fruits of their induſtry, and deſtroys the repreſentation of property. Under the pretence of eſtabliſhing a repreſentation of exiſtence, it deſtroys a principle which is real and ſacred, to eſtabliſh a conceit which is affected and nonſenſical.

But it is not merely to thoſe who have neither farm, freehold, nor trade, that this plan extends the right of voting:—it gives the return of members to ſerve in parliament to all the common ſoldiers, to the reſident army, horſe, foot and dragoons—to the police—to the ſcavenger. It goes farther, it gives that right to all hoſpitals, to almſmen, to Channel row, and every beggarman in the kingdom of Ireland. It goes farther, it gives that right to every criminal—whiteboys that break laws, and defenders who ſteal arms; and would thus preſent you with a repreſentation of felons as well as of paupers. To ſuch a monſtrous conſtitution, whoſe phrenſy, folly, and wickedneſs, muſt excite at once your ſcorn and horror, the objection is not merely that ſuch perſons would be repreſented, but the perſons who have no property in land, leaſe, freehold, or trade, being confeſſedly the majority, it follows under ſuch a plan that ſuch perſons alone would be repreſented, and that the landholder, leaſeholder, farmer and tradeſman, confeſſedly the majority, with their one

vote

vote only, this plan allows them no more, would not be repreſented at all, it follows that thoſe who have nothing in land, leaſe, farm, or trade, would return the parliament; that is, thoſe who had nothing in the common ſtock would make the laws, and the men who receive alms would vote the taxes. You held the Catholic to be a ſlave when his property was taxed without his conſent by the Proteſtant; the plan of perſonal repreſentation does away the franchiſe of the Catholic bill, and taxes both Proteſtant and Catholic without the conſent of either, by introducing a new ſet of voters who ſhall outnumber both, a body who have not with reſpect to you, like the Catholics in property, a common, but have a diſtinct and oppoſite intereſt, and are not politically the ſame, but eſſentially different; a body who put nothing into the common ſtock, and are to take every thing out of it, ſome of them are the objects of your charity, others the objects of your juſtice, and all of them now invited to become inſtruments of miſchief and members of government.—A plan which inſults the beggar with a power in the ſtate, and which robs the people of their influence in the conſtitution; which goes againſt the rights of man and the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, which deſtroys all the counties; which takes away from every citizen and freeholder one vote by regulation, and extinguiſhes by the voice and votes of the multitude the effect of the other; and which by its direct and indirect operation, taken together, disfranchiſes all the property in the kingdom, with ſuch electors as have none, and whoſe condition alone, however ſubdivided their multitude, would make an election a riot: with ſuch an unqualified rout the plan of perſonal repreſentation becomes more alarming, by doubling the number of elections and making the parliament annual; that is, by diminiſhing the franchiſe and doubling the confuſion,

afterwards

afterwards making that confuſion eternal, ſo inſtead of 150 elections once in eight years, we ſhould have every year 300 elections.

Suppoſe a potwalloping borough without even the reſtraint of a potwalloping qualification; ſuppoſe an election, of which Swords gives you an orderly and tranquil image, multiplied into 300 inſtances, and blazing out every year at the ſame moment in every part of the kingdom: Trade, induſtry, government, order, liberty, external conſequence and internal repoſe, in ſhort, young Ireland, what muſt be her lot? while the buſineſs of your legiſlation, your trade, and your agriculture ſtood ſtill, to give way to this univerſal canvaſs and univerſal diſorder, to this permanent intoxication and revolutionary riot.

To deſtroy the influence of landed property is the object of individual repreſentation, but its immediate effect would be to extinguiſh the people. The rich might for a time make a ſtruggle; they might in ſome places buy a mob, who by ſuch a plan would be all electors; they might beſet the huſtings with their retainers, who by ſuch a plan would all be electors, or they might purchaſe the votes of that great body of electors introduced by ſuch a plan into the conſtitution, all the beggars in the neighbourhood. The miniſter too, for the ſhort time ſuch a plan ſuffered king or miniſter, could in the corrupt confuſion of ſuch elections preſerve ſome influence by the application of the treaſury and the command of the army, he could have all the ſwords and votes of all the common ſoldiers. But the farmer and the citizen could have none of thoſe advantages, and indeed, what farmer or citizen would go to the huſtings of a medley of offenders met on a plan, where bayonets, bludgeons and whiskey, elected the Houſe of Commons? In the mean time, the reſpect which the landlord

lord and candidate now pay to the farmer and to the citizen would be at an end, and inſtead of reſorting to the farmer for his vote and intereſt, the ſquire would go to the farmer's dung-yard, and canvaſs the boys of his bawn, who would have more votes, though neither farm nor freehold; the conſequence of the citizen would be at an end alſo, and inſtead of going to his ſhop to ask the tradeſman for his vote, the candidate would apply to the beggar on the bridge, or the ſcavenger in the kennel, or to the hoſpitals, or Channel-row, and thoſe places where the poor are now wiſely ſupplied with bread, inſtead of being intoxicated with hand-bills, offering in the place of bread, the hopes of returning the parliament, and becoming a third conſtitutive part of the legiſlature.

Such would be the ſtate of election, under this plan of perſonal repreſentation, which from a revolution of power would ſpeedily lead to a revolution of property, and become a plan of plunder as well as a ſcene of confuſion; for if you transfer the power of the ſtate to thoſe who have nothing in the country, they will afterward transfer the property, and annex it once more to the power in their own perſons;—give them your power and they will give themſelves your property; of ſuch a repreſentation as this plan would provide, the firſt ordinance would be robbery, accompanied with the circumſtance incidental to robbery, murder! Such we have ſeen in France on a ſimilar experiment. There were two models for thoſe who undertook to reform the legiſlature—the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, with all its proſperity, the confuſions of the French with all its maſſacres; deliberately have the authors of the plan of perſonal repreſentation preferred the latter. Their plan at another time had been only evidence of utter incapacity, at this time and with the circumſtance of its moſt active circulation, it is a proof of the worſt intentions; their

their plan is an elementary French conſtitution, ſent to the different cabins of Ireland for their adoption; it is an invitation unavailing, conſidering the general loyalty of the people, I allow, but not the leſs wicked and vicious, an invitation, I ſay, from a blaſted Jacobin ſociety to the peaſantry, to riſe in a maſs and demand a French conſtitution, under the maſk of reforming the parliament—as ſuch I would reſiſt it.—As ſuch, as long as there is ſpirit or common ſenſe in the kingdom, we will all and for ever reſiſt it—but though the perpetration of the attempt you may defy, yet the miſchief of the attempt you muſt acknowledge. It has thrown back for the preſent the chance of any rational improvement in the repreſentation of the people, and has betrayed the fate of a good reform to the hopes of a ſhabby inſurrection. There are two characters equally enemies to the reform of parliament, and equally enemies to the government—the leveller of the conſtitution, and the friend of its abuſes; they take different roads to arrive at the ſame end; the levellers propoſe to ſubvert the king and parliamentary conſtitution by a rank and unqualified democracy, the friends of its abuſes propoſe to ſupport the king and govern the parliament, and therefore in the end to overſet both by a rank and an avowed corruption. They are both incendiaries; the one inflames the people by ſenſeleſs flattery, the other by ſenſeleſs petulance; the one would deſtroy government to pay his court to liberty—the other would deſtroy liberty to pay his court to government; but the liberty of the one would be confuſion, and the government of the other would be pollution. The one is a hypocrite that in the mimic trances of public zeal would overſet the throne—the other is a ſaucy ſlave more deſtitute of virtue than of talent, who wraps himſelf up in the threadbare gown of zeal for government, and ſtabs his country to the heart. Thus theſe oppoſite and bad characters would meet at laſt on the ground of their

their common miſchief, the ruins of the beſt regulations that ever diſtinguiſhed human wiſdom, thoſe that limit the power of the crown, and thoſe that reſtrain the impetuoſity of the people.

Adverting to your conſtitution with particular care, I find in its preſent defective ſtate of repreſentation, we have neither repreſentation of property nor of any proportion of property; it appeared that leſs than 90, but in fact, I believe, about, 40 individuals, return a vaſt majority of the Houſe of Commons—of property it will be found that thoſe perſons who return that majority (it is I believe two-thirds) have not an annual income of 300,000*l.* while they give and grant above 3,000,000*l.*—that is, the taxes they give are 10 times, and the property they tax is infinitely, greater than the property they repreſent; this conſtitution of diſproportion—this repreſentation of perſon, not property, of the perſons of a few individuals is leſs defenſible when you look to its origin. I have heard of the antiquity of borough repreſentation in Ireland—it is a groſs and monſtrous impoſition, this borough repreſentation is upſtart, the greater part of which was created by James I. for the known and profeſſed purpoſe of modelling parliament. Hear—hear the account of that project in Ireland. Chief Baron Gilbert ſays, "the conſtitution of boroughs did not ariſe from burgage tenures as in England, but from conceſſions from the king to ſend members created in latter times, when by ſecuring an intereſt in ſuch towns proper repreſentatives to ſerve the turn of the court were ſent to parliament."—In Leland, you find them deſcribed as follows:—"A number of new boroughs, moſt of them inconſiderable, and many too poor to afford wages to repreſentatives, muſt be entirely devoted to government, and muſt return its creatures and dependants; ſuch an acceſſion of power could not fail to encourage adminiſtration

to

to purſue the dictates of its paſſions and reſentments. The perſons returned were—whom ?—clerks, attornies, and ſervants of the Lord Deputy ; there is the ſacred model !"

But, ſay gentlemen, the boroughs have in their operation done prodagies ;—one great operation has been to tax the country at large for ſmall places and penſions for borough repreſentatives. See how the conſtitution by borough and not repreſentation worked previous to the revolution, it ſcarcely worked at all. Of the laſt century, near 85 years at different intervals paſſed without a parliament—from 1585 to 1612, that is, 27 years, no parliament—from 1648 to 1661, 13 years, no parliament—from 1666 to 1692, that is, 26, no parliament.—Before the revolution it thus appears that with the rights and the name, Ireland had not the profeſſion of a parliamentary conſtitution—and it will appear ſince the revolution, ſhe had no conſtitutioual parliament. From 1692 to 1768, near 70 years, almoſt two-thirds of a century, the tenure was during the life of the King ; ſince that time of limitation of the term there have been two reforms in the eſſence of parliament, but reforms which I ſhall diſtinguiſh from the conſtitutional reform deſired in the bill, by the appellations of anti-reforms. The firſt anti-reform procured by the treaſury, was the creation of a number of new parliamentary proviſions, in the years 69, 70 and 71, for the purpoſe of creating repreſentatives of the miniſter to counteract and counterbalance the repreſentatives of the ariſtocracy ; this anti-reform or modelling of the legiſlature was emphatically deſcribed and authoritatively confeſſed, by a memorable declaration and ſcandalous juſtification, and the government was ſaid to have paid, for defeating the ariſtocratic influence, a ſum of half a million, a ſum which would have bought 50 boroughs to be open to the people, and which the people were declared to have paid to procure a certain

certain number of members in parliament to repreſent the miniſter.

The ſecond period of anti-reform was in 89, when the ſame ſum was declared as likely to be expended for the ſame purpoſe, for the purpoſe of buying more repreſentatives of the then miniſter to counteract the remaining ſtrength of the repreſentatives of the ariſtocracy, that is, when 15 new parliamentary proviſions were created, to procure 15 new miniſterial repreſentatives; here is the other half million, and here are two anti-reforms, which have coſt the nation as much as would buy 100 boroughs, that is, all the boroughs. Which (the 15 new court repreſentatives of 89 being added to thoſe of 69 or about that period, and to the gradual additions ſince) make altogether from 40 to 50 new additional repreſentatives of adminiſtration, which is a number nearly equal to all the knights of the ſhire.

I have heard the word innovation—would they who exclaim thus call 40 additional members to the counties, innovation, and 40 additional members to the miniſters none?—is the extent of the principle of repreſentation to more county members innovation?—and the ſubverſion of that principle in the inſtances, I ſpeak of, none? Is a fuller and fairer repreſentation of property on the principles of the conſtitution innovation, and a fuller repreſentation of the treaſury none? The queſtion is not now, whether you will admit the idea of a reform of parliament, but having admitted and ſubmitted to innovation in the ſhape of abuſe, whether you will not now counteract that abuſe in the ſhape of reformation? Gentlemen ſpeak of a fixed conſtitution—Sir, theſe boroughs are not a fixed conſtitution, but floating property, a proviſion for younger children, a payment for debts, and a mortgage on the treaſury for the family of the proprietor;—the queſtion is then, whether

whether a property which is now at market ſhall be bought by individuals or opened to the people? Whether the miniſter ſhall from time to time buy ſuch portions of your conſtitution, as ſhall ſecure him at all times a majority againſt the people; or a reform ſhall ſo controul that influence as to ſecure to the people the chance of a majority in their own houſe of parliament?

When I ſay this is a queſtion, I am in error; it can be no queſtion, or at leaſt this is the only aſſembly in which it could be a queſtion; let not gentleman complain of ſtirring the ſubject; they ſtirred, they decided the ſubject, they who negociated the half million—they who created in 1789, the memorable increaſe of court repreſentation—they who confeſſed the half million, and they who deviſed the ſale of the peerage. We are only the advocates for a reform of parliament---but they are the evidence of its neceſſity; they do not draw that concluſion themſelves; no, but they are the evidence that force the concluſion upon you.

Gentlemen have talked of innovation; have they conſidered the date of boroughs when they talk in this manner? Many of theſe boroughs were at firſt free boroughs, perhaps one half of the whole was free by charter, and have been made cloſe boroughs by its violation, and are in law extinct, and their members now ſit in this Houſe in face of the law of the land, as well as the principles of the conſtitution We moved to go laſt ſeſſion into an examination, but gentlemen were afraid; we wiſh to go now into an examination, and if they will venture, we have reaſon to think we can ſhow you that many of thoſe boroughs are dead in law, and their members ſit here by intruſion.

We conclude this head, by three obſervations: 1ſt, That in Ireland the erection of the majority of boroughs, was with a view to ſubvert her parliamentary conſtitution. 2d, That

That the uſe made of thoſe boroughs ſince, by the ſale of peerages, and by the procuring at each general election portions of the parliament, has tended to undermine that conſtitution. 3d, That a great part of thoſe boroughs have this moment no exiſtence in law. We therefore conclude with Locke and Bolingbroke:

"Things of this world are in ſo conſtant a flux, that nothing remains long in the ſame ſtate; thus people, riches, trade, power, change their ſtations, flouriſhing mighty cities come to ruin, and prove in time neglected deſolate corners; whilſt other unfrequented places grow into populous countries, filled with wealth and inhabitants. But things not always changing equally, and private intereſt often keeping up cuſtoms and privileges when the reaſons of them are ceaſed, it often comes to paſs, that in governments, where part of the legiſlative conſiſts of repreſentatives, choſen by the people, that in tract of time, this repreſentation becomes very unequal and diſproportioned to the reaſons it was at firſt eſtabliſhed upon. To what groſs abſurdities the following of cuſtom, when reaſon has left it, may lead, we may be ſatisfied, when we ſee the bare name of a town, of which there remain not ſo much as the ruins, where ſcarce ſo much houſing as a ſheepcote, or more inhabitants than a ſhepherd, are to be found, ſends as many repreſentatives to the grand aſſembly of law-makers, as a whole county, numerous in people, and powerful in riches, this ſtrangers ſtands amazed at, and every one muſt confeſs needs a remedy."

Speaking of the revolution, Lord Bolingbroke adds, "If it had been ſuch, with reſpect to the elections of members to ſerve in parliament, theſe elections might have been drawn back to the ancient principle on which they had been eſtabliſhed; and the tale of property which was followed antiently, and was perverted by innumerable changes that length

length of time produced, might have been reſtored; by which the communities to whom the right of electing was truſted, as well as the qualification of the electors and the elected, might have been ſettled in proportion to the preſent ſtate of things. Such a remedy might have wrought a radical cure to the evil that threatens our conſtitution; whereas, it is much to be apprehended, even from experience, that all others are merely palliative; and yet the palliative muſt be employed no doubt, till the ſpecific can be procured."

A diviſion took place, on the motion of Sir Hercules Langriſhe, that the bill be read a ſecond time on the firſt of Auguſt.

Ayes,	—	142
Noes,	—	44
Majority	—	98

On the 25th of March, his Excellency cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The important objects which engaged your attention being concluded, I am enabled to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

"I have his Majeſty's commands to expreſs his moſt entire ſatisfaction in the zeal and unanimity which have governed your proceedings during the preſent ſeſſion, and the chearfulneſs with which you have provided for the extraordinary emergencies of the ſtate. This conduct, ſo honourable to yourſelves, muſt eſſentially tend to preſerve the internal tranquillity of your country, to maintain that free conſtitution under which they enjoy ſuch ineſtimable

able bleſſings, and is highly beneficial to the general intereſts of the empire and to the common cauſe of Europe.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I am directed by his Majeſty to return you his thanks for the liberal ſupplies you have voted for the public ſervice. You may rely on the faithful application to the purpoſes for which they were granted.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" His Majeſty feels with the moſt cordial pleaſure the loyalty of the people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always ſhewn to ſtand or fall with Great Britain. In the conteſt, in which we are engaged by the unprovoked aggreſſion of France, meaſures of the moſt vigorous nature continue to be requiſite, and his Majeſty will perſevere in his exertions, in conjunction with his allies, againſt the common enemy. Under Divine Providence, on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the diſciplined valour of his fleets and armies, and the united efforts of all his ſubjects, his Majeſty relies for a favourable iſſue to a war, which on the part of our enemies is waged againſt the envied liberty of theſe kingdoms, and the eſtabliſhed government of every ſtate in Europe.

" I applaud your wiſdom in paſſing an act for preſerving the property within this kingdom of perſons reſident in France, from becoming the plunder of thoſe who have uſurped the government of that unhappy country. It is peculiarly our duty to ſupport the ſecurity of private property, and to maintain the principles of juſtice, when doctrines have been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution, for the deſtruction of both.

" I am ſorry to inform you, that in ſome parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of

wicked and designing men, have assembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths, The timely exertions of the magistrates, aided by the spirited conduct of his Majesty's regular and militia forces, have nearly suppressed those disturbances. No attention shall be wanting on my part to the protection of the peaceable and industrious, and to the punishment of offenders against the law, and especially of those who have instigated the ignorant to the commission of such dangerous crimes.

"The early conclusion of the session will enable you, in your respective counties, to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to inculcate that spirit of loyalty to the King and attachment to our happy constitution, which has so eminently distinguished your conduct.

"I am truly sensible of the repeated testimonies I have received of your confidence and support, for which I return you my most sincere thanks, and shall endeavour to ensure their continuance by employing every power with which I am invested for the maintenance of the public tranquillity and the advantage of this kingdom, and by faithfully representing to his Majesty your unremitting attention to the welfare of Ireland, and your unanimous exertions for the general cause of the empire."

The parliament was then prorogued to Tuesday the twenty-seventh day of May following.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Proceedings out of parliament—addreſs to the Roman Catholic prelates to their reſpective dioceſſes, in 1793—*Dr. Troy's paſtoral inſtructions—Extracts therefrom—Memorial of the Iriſh Roman Catholic Clergy to the Pope, reſpecting the oath of conſecration—anſwer of his Holineſs—the political ſentiments avowed by the Roman clergy—Trial of A. H. Rowan, Eſq.* 1794—*proceedings of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen—their plan for a parliamentary reform—their addreſs to the people of Ireland.*

WE ſhall now diſcontinue, for a while, the ſtatement of parliamentary proceedings, and take notice of ſome public tranſactions which occur'd out of parliament.

The reader muſt have obſerved, that the peace of this country ſtill continued to be diſturbed by inſurgents in certain diſtricts—a circumſtance which afforded ſome argument againſt the further extenſion of indulgence to the Roman Catholics: another objection aroſe from the ſuppoſed impoſſibility that they could ever entertain a ſincere friendſhip for perſons of a different communion—or become dutiful and loyal ſubjects to a Proteſtant prince.

This ſuppoſition was founded (amongſt other principles) on a clauſe in the oath taken by the Roman Catholic archbiſhops at the time of their conſecration, which oath teſtifies their allegiance to the See of Rome, and contains the following expreſſion viz. "*Hæreticos perſequar et impugnabo.*" From which it was infer'd to be a general and indiſpenſable principle of the Roman Catholic Church, to perſecute

and wage war againſt Proteſtants on every poſſible occaſion.

It appears however, from what has been recorded in a former part of this work, that conſiderable exertions had from time to time been made by the dignified and others of the Roman Catholic Clergy, to ſuppreſs thoſe diſturbances which had ſo frequently taken place, by exhorting their flock to a peaceable demeanour and due ſubmiſſion to the laws, and the authority of the civil magiſtrates.

In 1793, an addreſs to the Roman Catholics was publiſhed and ſigned by the different prelates, as follows.

Dublin, January 25, 1793.

"*Dear Chriſtians,*

"IT has been our conſtant practice, as it is our indiſpenſable duty, to exhort you to manifeſt on all occaſions, that unſhaken loyalty to his Majeſty, and obedience to the laws, which the principles of our holy religion inſpire and command. This loyalty and obedience have ever peculiarly diſtinguiſhed the Roman Catholics of Ireland. We do not conceive a doubt of their being actuated at the preſent by the ſame ſentiments; but think it neceſſary to obſerve, that a moſt lively gratitude to our beloved ſovereign ſhou'd render their loyalty and love of order, if poſſible, more conſpicuous.—Our gracious king, the common father of all his people, has, with peculiar energy, recommended his faithful Roman Catholic ſubjects of this kingdom to the wiſdom and liberty of our enlightened parliament. How can we, dear chriſtians, expreſs our heartfelt acknowledgments for this ſignal and unprecedented inſtance of royal benevolence and condeſcenſion!—Words are inſufficient; but your continued loyal and peaceable conduct will more effectually proclaim them, and in a manner equally, if not more

more ſatisfactory and pleaſing to his majeſty and parliament. —Avoid then, we conjure you, deareſt brethren, every appearance of riot; attend to your induſtrious purſuits for the ſupport and comfort of your families; fly from idle aſſemblies; abſtain from the intemperate uſe of ſpirituous and intoxicating liquors; practice the duties of our holy religion: This conduct ſo pleaſing to Heaven, will alſo prove the moſt powerful recommendation, of your preſent claims, to our amiable ſovereign, to both houſes of parliament, to the magiſtrates, and to all our well-meaning fellow ſubjects of every deſcription.—None but the evil minded can rejoice at your being concerned in any diſturbance.

We cannot but declare our utmoſt and conſcientious deteſtation and abhorrence of the enormities lately committed, by ſeditious and miſguided wretches of every religious denomination, in ſome counties of this kingdom: they are enemies to God and man, the outcaſts of ſociety, and a diſgrace to chriſtianity: We conſider the Roman Catholics amongſt them, unworthy of the appellation; whether acting for themſelves, or ſeduced to outrage by the arts of deſigning enemies to us, and to national proſperity, intimately connected with our emancipation. Offer your prayers, deareſt brethren, to the Father of Mercy, that he may inſpire theſe deluded people with ſentiments becoming chriſtians and good ſubjects; ſupplicate the Almighty Ruler and diſpoſer of empires, [*By whom kings reign, and lawgivers decree juſt things.* Prov. viii. 15.] to direct his majeſty's councils, and forward his benevolent intention to unite all his Iriſh ſubjects in bonds of common intereſt, and common endeavours for the preſervation of peace and good order, and for every purpoſe tending to increaſe and ſecure national proſperity.

Beſeech the Throne of Mercy alſo, to aſſiſt both houſes of parliament in their important deliberations; that they may

may be diſtinguiſhed by conſummate wiſdom and liberality, for the advantage of the kingdom, and the relief and happineſs of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

"Under the pleaſing expectation of your chearful compliance with theſe our earneſt ſolicitations, we moſt ſincerely wiſh you every bleſſing in this life, and everlaſting happineſs of the next; through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Amen."

John Thomas Troy, D. D. &c. *Richard O'Rielly*, D. D. &c. *Dominick Bellew*, D. D. &c. *Thomas Bray*, D. D. &c. *John Cruiſe*, D. D. &c.

In the ſame year a paſtoral inſtruction on the duties of Chriſtian citizens, addreſsed to the Roman Catholics of the Archdioceſs of Dublin was publiſhed by the Right Rev. J. J. Troy, D. D. &c.—from which we ſelect the following extract, to ſhew what were the opinions publicly acknowledged and propagated by the heads of the Catholic perſuaſion.

"Juſtice (ſays the Doctor) calls on us, deareſt brethren, to proclaim with gratitude, the humanity and benevolence exerciſed in the moſt calamitous times, by the executive government, with reſpect to ſome laws againſt the Catholics of Ireland; eſpecially ſince the acceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of *Brunſwick* to the throne of theſe realms. The magiſtrates in moſt places, imitating the tenderneſs and affection of the King towards all his good ſubjects, frequently connived at the exerciſe of our religious rites, and enforced the laws againſt the harmleſs miniſters of religion with reluctance; but, unhappily, neither they, nor his Majeſty, could prevent the cruel operation of laws reſpecting the property of Catholics. In conſequence of theſe unnatural laws, which encouraged the rebellion of a child againſt his parent, the eſtates and property of ancient Catholic families were divided, and frequently become the joint

joint property of an unprincipled and villainous informer. Numberleſs Catholic and loyal families were reduced to poverty in this manner; and ſubmitted to it, rather than perjure themſelves by taking oaths irreconcilable with their religious principles, and conſcience.

It was reſerved for the auſpicious reign of our preſent moſt gracious ſovereign king George III, the father of all his people, to alleviate the oppreſſion under which his faithful Iriſh Roman Catholic ſubjects had ſo long, and ſo patiently grounded. He conſidered their dutiful remonſtrances, and ſubmitted them to an enlightened and humane parliament; which, equally ſenſible of the loyal and peaceable conduct of this deſerving body during a long period of perſecution, concurred with his Majeſty in repealing ſeveral penal laws affecting the exerciſe of their religion, and ſecurity of their landed property.

This merited condeſenſion in his Majeſty and parliament has, as was naturally expected, produced the happieſt effects. Arts, commerce, manufactures, tillage and induſtry are promoted with an energy and ſucceſs hitherto unknown; and muſt neceſſarily advance in proportion to the legal protection afforded the Roman Catholics; as they compoſe the great body of the Iriſh people.

A continuation of the ſame loyal and peaceable demeanour which recommended us to the attention of his Majeſty and parliament, is the moſt effectual meaſure to enſure their benevolence, and crown our humble applications for emancipation with ſucceſs. Our religion ſtrictly forbids riot of any kind, and prudence dictates the moſt zealous endeavours to prevent even the appearance of it. None but the ſeditious, or the enemies of ſubordination and national proſperity, and of our emancipation which is intimately connected with it, can be pleaſed at your being concerned in any commotion. Intereſted perſons only can rejoice

as

at any imprudence on our part. Beware then, we conjure you, deareſt brethren, of their inſidious attempts to ſeduce you from the allegiance due and ſworn to his Majeſty; under the ſpecious pretext of reform, or of aſſerting your rights. Reflect, we beſeech you, that the prerogatives of the crown, and rights of both houſes of parliament, are eſtabliſhed by the principles of our happy conſtitution, and that any attempt to diminiſh the conſtitutional rights of the king, of the lords, or of the commons, tends to demoliſh the venerable ſtructure raiſed by our anceſtors to ſecure true liberty, property, and peace to all ranks of ſociety in this kingdom.

We have recently in conjunction with ſome of our venerable brethren expreſſed our conſcientious abhorrence of the outrages committed in ſome counties of this kingdom, by malicious or deluded perſons of different religious perſuaſions, ſtyling themſelves *Defenders*; but who are in effect the vileſt *Offenders*, and tranſgreſſors of divine and human laws: We have declared ſuch wretched and unthinking Catholics as are, or may be concerned in theſe predatory riots, unworthy of that appellation, and a diſgrace to Chriſtianity. We now repeat the ſame, and conjure you to promote the public peace by every means in your power; and to guard againſt the artifices of intriguing men, deſirous to involve you in tumult and ſedition, in order to render our loyalty ſuſpected, and our conduct odious to the beſt of kings, and to both houſes of parliament. Do not, deareſt brethren, be ſeduced from your religious and hereditary loyalty, and reſpect for the laws; by the ſolicitations or example of any perſon; for to outrage the laws is always highly criminal. That Catholic muſt be fooliſh, or mad, or wicked, or imprudent in the extreme, who abets any tendency to ſedition; and the more ſo, when the miniſters of the crown, and both houſes of parliament manifeſt a deſire to concur with his majeſty in promoting the proſperity

of

of Ireland, the union and happineſs of all his ſubjects, by your emancipation."

With reſpect to the conſecration Oath before alluded to, Dr. Troy obſerves that the Roman Catholic Archbiſhops had then lately addreſſed a Letter to the Pope, wherein they deſcribed the miſrepreſentations that had been recently publiſhed of their conſecration oath, and great injury to the Catholic body, ariſing from them: They expreſſed their fulleſt conviction that the oath, obliging them only to canonical obedience to his Holineſs, and communion with the centre of unity, was perfectly reconcileable with their loyalty as ſubjects, and the allegiance they had ſworn to their gracious ſovereign king George III. They profeſſed a determination to obſerve both oaths, and to preſerve their communion with the Holy See inviolate: Reflecting, however, on the ignorance of moſt Proteſtants reſpecting the oath, with which they ſeemed only acquainted from the calumnious publications againſt it: The prelates abovementioned ſuggeſted to the Pope, that ſome declaration or explanation of the oath, and particularly of the words—*Hæreticos perſequor & impugnabo*, from himſelf, or by his authority, would, probably, remove the alarms of well-meaning Proteſtants, and confound the prejudiced; who, by their miſrepreſentations of the oath, endeavoured to blaſt the proſpects and expectations of Catholics to obtain an emancipation from the penal code; which they had reaſon to hope for, from the clemency of his majeſty, and wiſdom of the legiſlature. They concluded, with ſubmitting theſe conſiderations to his Holineſs, and requeſting an anſwer, whenever his conſtant ſolicitude for the univerſal church, and occupations would permit.

To this Letter an anſwer was returned from Rome by the congregation of Cardinals appointed to ſuperintend the eccleſiaſtical affairs of theſe Kingdoms—intimating amongſt

amongſt other things that by authority of his Holineſs, an alteration was to be made in the oath, and which alteration they thus deſcribed,

Ex audientia ſanctiſſimi habita die 9 Junii, 1791.

Archiepiſcopi metropolitani totius regni Hiberniæ Sanctiſſimo domino expoſuerunt quorumdam inſcitia vel improbitate in alienum ſenſum detorqueri quaſdam voces quæ reperiuntur in formula juramenti ab epiſcopis in eorum conſecratione, atque ab archiepiſcopis in receptione *pallii*, juxta rituale Romanum, præſtandi, atque propterea cum præter eas difficultates, quæ in regno, in quo Catholica fides non dominatur, quotidie occurrunt, in novas etiam conjiciantur: Unde quatenus Sanctitati ſuæ opportunum videatur, demiſſe petiêre, ut aliqua apoſtolicæ providentiæ ratione conſulere dignetur. Sanctitas ſua ad mei infraſcripti relationem, rebus omnibus mature perpenſis, benigne indulſit, ut epiſcopi regni Hiberniæ in eorum conſecratione, atque archiepiſcopi in receptione *pallii*, ea utantur juramenti formulâ, qua ejuſdem Sanctitatis ſuæ permiſſu, archiepiſcopus *Mohilovienſis* uſus eſt in Imperio Moſcorum, quæ eſt hujuſmodi:

Ego *N. N.* &c. prout in pontificali Romano uſque ad clauſulam—*Hæreticos, ſchiſmaticos, & rebelles, eidem domino noſtro, vel ſucceſſoribus prædictis, pro poſſe perſequar, & impugnabo*—quæ penitus omittitur: Poſtea verba hæc—*Cardinalem præfectum ſacræ Congregationis propagandæ fidei præpoſitæ* ſufficiuntur verbis—*Cardinalem proponentem in Congregatione ſacri concilii.*—Formula hiſce verbis terminatur: Hæc omnia, & ſingula eo inviolabilius obſervabo, quo certior ſum nihil in illis contineri, quod fidelitati meæ erga ſereniſſimum magnæ Britanniæ & Hiberniæ regem, ejuſque ad thronum ſucceſſores debitæ, adverſari poſſit. Sic me Deus adjuvet, & hæc ſancta Die Evangelia. Ita promitto, et ſpondeo.

Ego

Ego *N. N.* Archiepiſcopus vel Epiſcopus, &c.

Datum Romæ, ex Ædibus præfatæ ſacræ Congregationis, hac die 23 Junii, 1791.

L. Cardinalis Antonellus Præfectus.

A. Archiepiſcopus Adanen, *Secretarius.* *

Locus
+
Sigilli.

**TRANSLATION.*

From an audience had of his Holineſs on the ninth day of June, 1791.

THE archbiſhops metropolitans of the kingdom of Ireland repreſented to his Holineſs; that from the ignorance or malice of ſome perſons, certain expreſſions in the form of the oath preſcribed in the Roman Ritual to be taken by biſhops at their conſecration, and by archbiſhops on receiving the *Pall*, have been miſinterpreted; which has added new perplexities to thoſe which they daily experience in a kingdom where the Catholic faith is not the religion of the ſtate: Wherefore, they humbly requeſted, if it ſhould appear expedient to his Holineſs, that he would vouchſafe to apply a remedy by ſome act of his apoſtolical vigilance. His Holineſs on this report being made to him by me the underwritten, all circumſtances of the caſe maturely conſidered, was graciouſly pleaſed to grant, that the biſhops of the kingdom of Ireland at their conſecration, and the archbiſhops on receiving the *Pall*, may uſe the ſame form of oath, which was taken by the archbiſhop of *Mobilow* in the empire of the Moſcovites, by permiſſion of his ſaid Holineſs; which is as follows:

I, *N. N.* &c. as in the Roman Pontifical to the clauſe—*All Heretics, Schiſmatics, and Rebels, againſt our ſaid lord and his ſucceſſors aforeſaid, I will to the utmoſt of my power, proſecute and oppoſe*—which is entirely omitted: Afterwards the words—*the Cardinal Prefect of the S. Congregation for propagating the Faith*, are ſubſtituted inſtead of *the Cardinal Proponent in the Congregation of the Sacred Council.* The form concludes with theſe words: *I will obſerve all and every one of theſe things the more inviolably; as I am firmly convinced that there is nothing contained in them, which can be contrary to the fidelity I owe to the moſt ſerene king of Great Britain and Ireland, and to his ſucceſſors to the throne. So help me God and thoſe holy Goſpels of God. Thus I promiſe, and engage.*

I, *N. N.* Archbiſhop, or Biſhop, &c.

Dated at Rome, in the houſe of the ſaid Sacred Congregation, the 23d day of June, 1791.

L. Cardinal Antonelli Prefect.

A. Archbiſhop Adanen. *Sec.*

Seal.

Amongſt

Amongſt the events of the year 1794, we cannot properly paſs over the intereſting Trial of A. H. Rowan, Eſq. which came on in the Court of King's-Bench the 29th Jan. before the Rt. Hon. Lord Viſcount Clonmel, chief Juſtice and Meſſrs. Boyd and Downes, Juſtices.

This was on an information filed *ex-officio* by his majeſty's Attorney General.

The information was for publiſhing on the 16th of December, 1792, a falſe, ſcandalous, malicious and ſeditious libel, purporting to be an Addreſs from the United Iriſhmen of Dublin, to the Volunteers of Ireland, ſigned by Mr. Rowan, as Secretary, againſt his Majeſty's Government, tending to excite diſcontents among his Majeſty's ſubjects, endeavouring to overthrow the Legiſlature by arms, and to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed government and conſtitution.

The Attorney General opened the proſecution by a very long ſpeech, in which he endeavoured to ſhew from the nature of the publication itſelf, as well from the particular circumſtances of the time in which it was publiſhed, that the object of it was to call to arms a body of men, who, under the ſanction of the reſpectable name of Volunteers, ſhould new-mould the conſtitution, overturn the eſtabliſhed government, and introduce French anarchy and confuſion, under the pretence of reform. He laboured with much zeal in deſcanting on the ſeveral parts of the publication, to prove the criminal tendency; and to prove the publication of it by Mr. Rowan, he produced two witneſſes.

The firſt was Mr. John Lyſter, an Enſign in the 40th regt.—This evidence on his examination ſaid, that on the 16th day of December, 1792, paſſing thro' Cope-ſtreet, he ſaw a number of people aſſembled around Mr. Pardon's fencing-ſchool; that on enquiry he found there was a meeting

ing of the United Iriſhmen held there on that day—that, prompted by curioſity, he went in, and ſaw there about a hundred and fifty, or from that to two hundred men, dreſſed in ſcarlet uniform, with green and other facings—that he ſaw there Mr. Ham. Rowan, whom he identified at the bar—that ſhortly after he went in, he was addreſſed by one of the company, who he believed to the beſt of his recollection to have been Mr. Rowan, and was told that no perſon in coloured clothes was permitted to mix with the aſſembly, but that there was a gallery to which he might go—that he accordingly did go into the gallery, and ſhortly after ſaw Mr. Rowan take ſome papers from a table, and diſtribute them to ſeveral of the Volunteers—that he ſaw one of thoſe parcels which he ſaw Mr. Rowan give one of the Volunteers, handed by him to the people in the gallery, that he immediately got one of thoſe papers—that he heard Mr. Rowan read the greater part of this paper aloud to the people below. A paper being produced to him by council, he ſaid that was the identical paper which he had received out of the parcel which came from Mr. Rowan's hands.

On his croſs examination by Mr. Recorder, he ſaid he knew that to be the identical paper from the circumſtance of his having written a memorandum on the back of it, the ſame day on which he received it—ſaid that when he did ſo, he had no notion of ever being called on to give evidence with reſpect to it—and that it was uſual with him to make memorandums of this kind on every improper paper he received.

On being asked whether he was at that time in any profeſſion, he ſaid he was not—ſaid he got his commiſſion in June laſt—that he did not purchaſe it, but got it thro' the intereſt of Mrs. Adderley, to whom he was related—Said alſo, that on the day following the meeting in Cope-

ſtreet,

ſtreet, he had had a meſſage from Mr. Hobart, intimating Mr. Hobart's knowledge that Lyſter had been at a very improper place, and his expectation that he would communicate what he knew of the buſineſs which had been tranſacted there—that Mr. Kemmis, the Crown Solicitor, had called on him afterwards, and ſtated to him that the buſineſs at which he had been preſent was againſt his King and country, and that it was his duty to make a diſcovery, and that in conſequence of this, he agreed to give information of what he knew on that ſubject.

Evidence alſo confeſſed he had been witneſs to two bonds paſſed by his father to his younger brother for 800l. that theſe bonds were afterwards ſuſpected of being forgeries, and that iſſue had been joined to try their authenticity, that they were not confirmed by the Court or Jury, but that his brothers had agreed to leave the queſtion to a reference, and the award of the reference was that 200l. ſhould be paid for the bonds to the younger brother, but that none of the money had yet been paid, and that the matter was likely to come to iſſue again in the Court of Chancery; he ſaid he knew evidence would be produced in Court to day in order to ſhew that his teſtimony was not to be credited, but if he had had notice of this ſufficiently early he would have brought evidence which would have fully eſtabliſhed his credibility. Said that he believed the trial concerning thoſe bonds took place about two years ſince; could not ſay whether or not he was examined before the Court as a witneſs on that buſineſs, but believed he was.

William Morton apprentice to a gold-beater was next called in ſupport of the proſecution; he ſwore that on the day mentioned in the information, being Sunday, he was called upon by another perſon to go to a meeting of United Iriſhmen, to be held in Cope-ſtreet; that he got into

into a gallery which over-hung the room, and from thence ſaw nearly two hundred men in uniform, ſcarlet with various facings; that Mr. Ham. Rowan, whom he now identified, was among them; that he ſaw a great number of printed papers brought in as if from the preſs; that ſeveral of the people below took parcels of theſe papers and handed them up to the gallery; that Mr. Rowan alſo took ſome which he handed to others, by whom they were afterwards tranſmitted to the gallery; that one of theſe came into his hand—that one of them was read by a perſon in the gallery, which correſponded with the one he had got; that one of them was thrown from the gallery into the ſtreet, which was taken up by ſome of the mob; that they ſhortly afterwards became clamorous for more, and that more were accordingly thrown out to them; that he remembered very well one part of the contents of the paper which he had received—it was the commencement of a paragraph and began with the words "Citizens to arms!"

On his croſs examination he ſaid, that he had given this paper to a friend of his, who had miſlaid it—that he had kept it leſs than a week. On being asked who the friend was to whom he had given the paper, he ſaid it was Mr. Giffard—that he was a couſin of Mr. Giffard's. On more cloſe examination he ſaid, he gave the paper to Giffard the very day on which he received it—that immediately from the meeting he went to the houſe of another friend and relation of his, Mr. Ryan, who, he ſaid, was by profeſſion a ſurgeon, and that there he ſaw Mr. G—could not ſay whether Mr. Ryan had any means of making money but by his profeſſion as ſurgeon—knew he lived in the houſe in which the Dublin Journal is publiſhed, but could not tell whether he had any ſhare in conducting that paper---ſwore he did not know whether Ryan was any relation of Giffard's or not---ſwore he did not know whether Giffard had any ſhare in the management of that

newſpaper

newſpaper or not, and that he did not believe he had, tho' he had heard it frequently aſſerted that he had.

Mr. Blake, of Co. Galway, was then produced by Defendant's Counſel. On being asked whether he thought Mr. John Lyſter was credible on his oath, he anſwered, "he would heſitate to believe him, but he could not "poſitively ſay, that he ought not to be believed on his "oath."

Mr. John Smyth, an attorney, was then introduced, who on being queſtioned as to the credibility of Mr. Lyſter's evidence, ſaid he knew but very little of him, but from that little he would not be inclined to truſt him.

On being asked by the Court "whether he knew enough of Mr. Lyſter to enable him to ſay poſitively whether he ought to be believed or not?" ſaid he did not know Lyſter ſufficiently to entitle him to give that opinion poſitively.

Mrs. Hatchell, produced alſo to the credibility of Mr. John Lyſter's evidence, knew him TOO well. His younger brother was married to her daughter, and Mr. John Lyſter had endeavoured to make his brother leave his w[illegible]e—ſwore poſitively that ſhe did not think his evidence on oath ought to be believed. On being asked why ſhe formed this opinion, ſhe ſaid, it was founded on his conduct with reſpect to her daughter, and alſo on the declaration of his elder brother, whom ſhe had frequently heard ſpeak of him at her houſe.

The evidence on both ſides cloſed here. The paper alledged to be publiſhed by Mr. Rowan was then read by the Clerk of the Crown; after which

Mr. CURRAN entered on the defence of his client. His ſpeech on this occaſion, he was nearly three hours in delivering; we can only ſay of it, that it exceeded in ſtrength

ſtrength of argument, force of manly ſentiment, conſtitutional boldneſs, beauty of thought, and elegance and energy of diction, any thing we have ever heard from that gentleman, either in his Forenſic or Legiſlative capacity. He commenced by declaring, that he muſt look on the Jury as more than men, if after the artful means which now for more than a year had been put in practice with the moſt ingenious and indefatigable induſtry to raiſe prejudice and clamour againſt his client and his principles, they came now at laſt to his trial without any unfavourable impreſſions; he conjured them by the ſolemn obligation they had taken—by their duty to the living God, and to their Country, to diveſt themſelves as far as it was poſſible of thoſe prejudices. He then enumerated the many inſtances in which his client had been hardly dealt with, in having this accuſation kept hanging over his head for upwards of a year, while he was ſoliciting a trial. He ſaid the points for the conſideration of the Jury were three;—whether Mr. Rowan had publiſhed the paper alledged—whether he had done ſo with a criminal intent—or whether the paper contained in it matter which was in itſelf libellous.

It was in the ſpeaking of the laſt of theſe, that Mr. Curran called forth his powers. He entered into a full and complete JUSTIFICATION of the addreſs and its contents, analyſing it, by ending each of its parts ſeparately, and with reſpect to the whole, he ſhewed that it was the beſt and deareſt privilege of the ſubject, by the Britiſh Conſtitution, to watch over the government, to ſpeak his mind of their conduct; and on this general ground he vindicated the principle of this publication. The addreſs, he ſaid, was impugned on four grounds.

Firſt, the call it contained to the Volunteer Army. He entered into a very affecting hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of the inſtitution; ſhewed the conſtitutional ground

on which it reſted, and mentioned the many ſignal marks of royal and legiſlative approbation with which they had been honoured. If this call of Mr. Rowan to that body to arm would not have been illegal or ſeditious in the year 1782, what could make it ſo in the year 1794? If the riſing of the Volunteer Army in the former period was not inſurrection, the call to them in the latter could not be ſeditious.

The next point was the propoſal of what was called a change in the conſtitution by the admiſſion of Catholic franchiſe. On this head he exhibited in ſtrong colours, the abſurdity of impeaching a man for recommending that meaſure which the Sovereign had ſince recommended, and the legiſlature adopted: ſhewed that the proſecution for ſuch a crime could originate only in mortified bigotry, and could be productive of no effect, if ſucceſsful, but that of proving to the Catholics, that while conceſſions were made to them, they were ſtill the objects of hatred and deteſtation.

The third ſubject of accuſation in the paper, was, Reform.

He obſerved in this inſtance, it was ſingular that at the very time when a proſecution was carried on with the moſt extreme ſeverity, againſt a ſubject, for recommending the meaſure of parliamentary reform, that meaſure was ſubmitted to the legiſlature of the country.—Thus the progreſs of public grievance toward redreſs, was gradually eating away the ſubject of the proſecution.

The recommendation of a convention was the fourth meaſure for which the addreſs had incurred the indignation with which it was purſued.

Theſe conventions he obſerved were, until the late ſeſſion of parliament, legal and uſual in this country, and in

in Great Britain; and though now ſince the law which makes them illegal is enacted, he muſt ſuppoſe it to have been enacted on good grounds, yet if it had been mentioned to him before, he muſt have conſidered it as a law, to make inſurrection the only poſſible way of ſeeking redreſs of the ſlighteſt grievance.

In pointing out the extremely miſchievous tendency of this law, and the precious legality of the aſſemblies it prohibits, he ſpent ſome time and performed it in a manner which we have not the preſumption to attempt reporting. On that part of the addreſs which ſays, "in four words lie all our power, UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, and REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURE," he was peculiarly happy.

He proved them to be dictated by the genius of the conſtitution of Britain, whoſe ſacred ſoil emancipated the wretched African, and the enſlaved Indian, the moment they feel its hallowed touch.

[The warmth and energy with which Mr. Curran expreſſed himſelf in this part of his ſpeech excited ſuch a general burſt of applauſe as could not be ſuppreſſed.—It was echoed by loud and continued plaudits from every part of the court and hall.]

The Chief Juſtice, after expreſſing ſome diſapprobation of this breach of decorous gravity in a court of law, ſaid he could at the ſame time make allowance for the momentary effuſion of pleaſure which he himſelf felt as ſtrongly as any man at hearing talents like thoſe of the learned gentleman exerted on ſuch a ſubject.]

This freedom, however, which Great Britain ſo carefully cheriſhed within herſelf, Mr. Curran obſerved, ſhe did not generally communicate to her allies or dependancies—witneſs this country herſelf, which though for centuries connected with Britain, has been a free country not more

than a few years. Hence he juſtified that ſyſtem of conduct which the addreſs recommended, as neceſſary to ſecure and perpetuate freedom. Mr. Curran would not ſay that the ſtate of things repreſented in that paper was the true ſtate of the country, but he would bid gentlemen of the jury lay their hands on their heart, and ask themſelves if it were not.

Mr. Curran was copious in ſhewing, that there remained to the people now no way of ſpeaking their ſentiments but thro' the medium of the preſs—for if, they aſſembled in aggregate meetings they were cenſured, their chairman and printer puniſhed—if, for the purpoſe of being more orderly and decorous, they met by delegation, they were then criminal—Thus deprived then of every means of expreſſing their ſenſe, if they would be deprived of the medium of the preſs, they would then be as completely ſilenced, as in the moſt deſpotic government on the globe. —He ſhewed that the cauſe of his client, was that of the public, and that if a verdict ſhould this day be given againſt Mr. Rowan for openly and reſponſibly publiſhing his ſentiments on public affairs, even though theſe ſentiments were erroneous, that verdict would put an end to the liberty of the preſs in Ireland—honeſt men would no more come forward in public, but thoſe monſters of whom we ſee every day but too many—who ſunk in corruption, lie at the bottom as long as any ſanity remains, until becoming buoyant by their rottenneſs, they riſe to the ſurface, and are borne away objects of horror and deteſtation to the public eye.

He alluded to the recent verdict of an Engliſh Jury on the printer of the Morning Chronicle—that verdict was acquittal, tho' the publication, which was fully proved, contained paſſages, which he read, and which were as ſeverely pointed againſt the abuſes of Government as any writings could poſſibly be, and went almoſt againſt the very principle

principle of the Britiſh conſtitution—An Iriſh jury he hoped could not be leſs careful of this invaluable bleſſing—freedom of publication—than a Britiſh jury, to whom this advantage ought to be leſs valuable, as it was not, as with us, the *only* one they yet poſſeſſed.

He adverted to the ſpirit of infatuation which has been conjured up in Great Britain by the artful clamours that had been raiſed, by men alike enemies to the country and their Sovereign.

He conſidered it as perfectly unaccountable to any other principle than that of univerſal infatuation, that genius and public ſpirit ſhould, in a country which ſeemed to have been marked out by Providence as the parent and nurſe of both, be ſent to couple with the vileſt malefactors for a term exceeding the probable period of human life.

He warned the jury againſt being led away by a ſimilar deluſion in this inſtance—much artful pains had been taken to ſtrengthen that deluſion againſt his client—who ſeemed to have been marked for a victim by a conſpiracy to which his honeſt ſoul diſdained to bend—If they ſuffered themſelves to be influenced by thoſe artful contrivances, they would be in a much leſs pleaſant ſituation than a Scotch jury, whoſe error might be forgotten, becauſe the man who had ſuffered by it would be removed—here he would remain with them, a perpetual *memento* to the public of the verdict by which honour, truth, and public ſpirit had been condemned to the puniſhment of infamy—He would be a gigantic ſtatue raiſed on a pedeſtal of party ſpirit.

Here he entered into a warm and florid panegyric on Mr. Rowan as a citizen, a man of humanity, the friend of poverty, and the comforter of deſpair—if ſuch a man muſt be thrown into the fiery furnace becauſe he would not worſhip a *Golden Calf*—the redeeming ſpirit of the conſtitution would

would be seen to walk with him, and to bring him out uninjured.

Mr Attorney General and Mr. Prime Serjeant replied. The latter was copious in descanting on the various parts of the publication, and pointing out their criminality. The scope of his argument was, that Mr. Rowan was guilty. not for publishing opinions on Reform, on Catholic Emancipation, &c. but for doing this in a manner calculated to inflame the public mind.

The Chief Justice proceeded to charge the Jury.—He began by informing them of the act of last session, by which their right of judging of the *whole matter* at issue—law and fact—in cases of libel is recognized.—He then repeated the four points of *gravamen* or complaint in the information, viz. —making the King's government odious—endeavouring to excite discontent and tumult among his Majesty's subjects —endeavouring to overawe the legislature—and to make alterations in the government and constitution of this kingdom, and to subvert both by violence and arms.

He then read the publication, and reasoned with a great deal of ingenuity, to prove that almost every line in it went to establish the accusation. Having given it as his opinion that the paper fully deserved the epithets which the information applied to it—of false, scandalous, malicious, seditious, &c. he proceeded to sum up the evidence, which he did very accurately. As to the evidence of Morton, he confessed it could not at all support the information, and was to be received only as corroborative of Lyster's—the evidence of that gentleman, he thought, fully proved the fact of publication, and as to his credibility he thought Mr. Blake, or Mr. Smith's testimony, did in no wise prove it ought not to be believed.—As to what had been advanced by Mrs. Hatchel, it was with the jury to determine how far it was to be believed against Lyster's testimony, which his

Lordship

Lordſhip thought perfectly rational, and conſiſtent—nor did his Lordſhip think his teſtimony was rendered incredible from any thing relating to Lyſter himſelf—the manner in which he got his commiſſion, was, very naturally accounted for; and as for the affair of the bond, the award of the referees was a circumſtance which ſeemed too genuine.

But what amounted to a volume of evidence on the ſide of the proſecution was, Mr. Rowan's not having produced any perſon to prove his innocence, though nearly two hundred of his friends, United Iriſhmen and Volunteers were preſent at the time.

Meſſrs. Boyd and Downes coincided perfectly in his Lordſhip's opinion.

The Jury then went out at half paſt nine o'clock, and returned in a very few minutes with a verdict—GUILTY.

An application was afterwards ineffectually made to the Court for a new trial—and on the 7th of February the court pronounced ſentence, which was "*impriſonment for two years, a fine of* 500*l. and ſecurity for good behaviour for ſeven years*;—*Mr. Rowan in* 2,000*l. and two others in* 1.000*l. each.*

In April, 1794, the ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, of which Mr A. H. *Rowan*, whoſe Trial has been ſtated, was a member, prepared and publiſhed the following plan of "*an equal repreſentation of the people of Ireland in the houſe of Commons.*"

I. That the nation, for the purpoſe of repreſentation ſolely, ſhould be divided into 300 Electorates, formed by combination of pariſhes, and as nearly as poſſible equal in point of population.

II. That

II. That each Electorate ſhould return one repreſentative to parliament.

III. That each Electorate ſhould, for the convenience of carrying on the Elections at the ſame time, be ſubdivided into a ſufficient number of parts.

IV. That there ſhould be a returning officer for each Electorate, and a deputy and returning officer for each ſubdiviſion, to be reſpectively elected.

V. That the Electors of the Electorate ſhould vote, each in the ſubdiviſion in which he is regiſtered, and has reſided as herein after ſpecified.

VI That the returning officers of the ſubdiviſions ſhould ſeverally return their reſpective Polls to the returning officer of the Electorate, who ſhould tot up the whole, and return the perſon having a majority of votes, as their Repreſentative in parliament.

VII. That every man poſſeſſing the right of ſuffrage for a Repreſentative in Parliament, ſhould exerciſe it in his own perſon only.

VIII. That no perſon ſhould have a right to vote in more than one Electorate at the ſame Election.

IX. That every male of ſound mind, who has attained the full age of 21 years, and actually dwelt, or maintained a family eſtabliſhment in any Electorate for ſix months of the twelve immediately previous to the commencement of the Election, (provided his reſidence, or maintaining a family eſtabliſhment be duly regiſtered) ſhould be intitled to vote for the Repreſentatives of the Electorate.

X. That there ſhould be a Regiſtering officer, and a Regiſtry reſidence in every ſubdiviſion of each Electorate; and that in all queſtions concerning reſidence, the regiſtry ſhould be conſidered as concluſive evidence.

XI. That all elections in the nation ſhould commence and cloſe on the ſame day.

XII. That

XII. That the votes of all electors ſhould be given by voice, and not by ballot.

XIII. That no oath of any kind ſhould be taken by any elector.

XIV. That the full age of 25 years ſhould be a neceſſary qualification to entitle any man to be a repreſentative

XV. That reſidence within the electorate ſhould not, but that reſidence within the kingdom ſhould be neceſſary qualification for a repreſentative.

XVI. That no property qualification ſhould be neceſſary to entitle any man to be a repreſentative.

XVII. That any perſon having a penſion, or holding a place in the Executive or Judicial Departments, ſhould be thereby diſqualified from being a repreſentative.

XVIII. That repreſentatives ſhould receive a reaſonable ſtipend for their ſervices.

XIX. That every repreſentative ſhould, on taking his ſeat, ſwear that neither he, nor any perſon to promote his intereſt, with his privity, gave or was to give any bribe for the ſuffrage of any voter.

XX. That any repreſentative convicted by a Jury, of having acted contrary to the ſubſtance of the above oath, ſhould be for ever diſqualified from ſitting or voting in parliament.

XXI. That parliaments ſhould be annual.

XXII. That a repreſentative ſhould be at liberty to reſign his delegation upon giving ſufficient notice to his conſtituents.

XXIII. That abſence from duty for ſhould vacate the ſeat of a repreſentative.

Shortly

Shortly afterwards the following addreſs appeared.

THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN IN DUBLIN, TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

We ſubmitted to your conſideration ſuch a plan for your equal repreſentation, as would, in our judgment, if carried into effect, give you your juſt and conſtitutional weight in the legiſlature We exulted in the thought, that our exertions had contributed to raiſe the public mind to that elevated point, from which it might view it's widely extended rights; from which it might diſcover the real inſignificance of every propoſal toward reform, that ſhould not ſeek the full meaſure of juſtice; which ſhould not give to all, who were in any degree bound by the Law, the power of chooſing thoſe who made the Law. We thought the ſimplicity of the plan the beſt teſt of it's honeſty, and that its appeal to the common ſenſe of the nation rendered any explanation of it's principles unneceſſary. We are, however, now called upon to juſtify it's primary principle by the objections, which have ſince been raiſed againſt it; and ſhould we ſucceed, our triumph muſt be that of argument over invective, of reaſon over prejudice, and of juſtice over power.

It is an apprehenſion with ſome that ſhould every man be allowed to vote for a repreſentative in parliament, the Monarchy and the Ariſtocracy of the Conſtitution would ſoon be overborne and deſtroyed by the exorbitant power and republican ſpirit of the Democracy.

Let it be remembered, that the Britiſh Conſtitution has amply provided againſt the probability of ſuch an event. It has appointed a ſole executive officer, inveſted with prerogatives

rogatives to ſtrengthen that executive power, and with a certain portion of legiſlative authority to defend thoſe prerogatives. It has inſtituted a ſubſtantial Ariſtocracy, not deriving all it's weight and authority merely from the King's patents, but hereditary, and poſſeſſing a maſs of property, by which, backed and ſupported, if neceſſary, by the executive prerogatives and legiſlative authority of the Crown, it is enabled to withſtand the attacks of the Democracy. Away then with the idle apprehenſion—can any danger attach upon ſo much influence and ſo much power? On the contrary, can any thing ſhort of pure Democracy maintain againſt them the integrity and independence of the Houſe of Commons?

But it is ſaid that the lower claſſes of the community, being without property, have no ſtake in the country, and therefore ought not to vote for any part of the legiſlature. In conſequence of the repreſentative ſyſtem every man is ſuppoſed to be either individually or by his delegate, a party to making the laws, by which he is to be bound. * The elective right cannot therefore be denied, on conſtitutional principle, to any one, and even the pooreſt ſhould be allowed the exerciſe of that right, as they are bound by law as well as others.—Laws operate on life, liberty, and property. Why is property repreſented? Becauſe it is valuable to

* Altho' this is at preſent only a ſuppoſition, yet there are ſtrong reaſons for believing that it was once a fact. Mr. Prynne, one of the moſt profound legal Antiquarians, "before the 8th Hen. 6th ch. 7. every inhabitant and commoner in each Country had a voice in the election of Knights, whether he were a freeholder or not." Brew. Parl. Red. p. 184.—of the ſame opinion ſeems Whitelocke. 2d Whitl. p. 90.—It ſeems very conſiderably confirmed by the words of the 7th Hen. 4. ch. 15.—And Sir Thomas Smyth in his Commonwealth p. 37.—has the following words, "every Engliſhman is intended to be preſent in parliament. either in Perſon, or by procuration or Attorney, of what pre-eminence, ſtate, dignity, or quality ſoever he be, from the Prince to the loweſt perſon in England, and the conſent of the parliament is taken to be every man's conſent."

to the poſſeſſor, and may be affected by the law. Why ſhould liberty and life not be repreſented? Are they not more valuable to their poſſeſſor, and may they not alſo be affected by the law? Since liberty and life are the moſt important objects of legiſlation, the poorer claſs have a right to ſome controul over the legiſlature, and it is juſt that they ſhould exerciſe it. The ſpirit of many of our laws is ariſtocratic, and by no means calculated for the protection of the poor. To paſs over the remarkable inſtances of the Game Laws and the Stamp-Act, the latter of which, by operating on legal proceeding, ſhuts the door of juſtice againſt the poor, we ſhall refer to a much more important ſyſtem, our *criminal Code*.

If the lower claſſes of the community had been repreſented in Parliament, when their neceſſities firſt urged them to inſurrection and outrage, under the denomination of White boys and Defenders, parliament would have enquired into and redreſſed their grievances, inſtead of making laws to puniſh them with death. The acts, which are prohibited by many of our laws, are unqueſtionably great crimes: but the puniſhments, inflicted by thoſe laws, are ſtill greater crimes. The reaſon of this diſproportion is, that the rich man is never guilty of ſheep-ſtealing, and the poor man has no one to plead his cauſe in the ſenate.

If, however, it be a principle that no man, who does not contribute to the ſupport of Government, ſhould be immediately concerned in legiſlation, ſuch principle would be no excluſion of the poor, for they contribute in proportion to their means.

The pooreſt man in the land pays taxes for his fire, his candle, for his potatoes and cloathing: and the poorer he is, the greater occaſion he has for a vote to protect what little he has, which is neceſſary not to his qualification merely, but

but to his very exiſtence He has a property in his labour, and in the value it will bring in the market, the field, or the manufactory: a property, on account of it's ſmallneſs, of more real value to him than thouſands of pounds to the rich and luxurious: a property, which muſt render him more intereſted in the honeſt diſpoſal of the public money, ſince one additional Tax may cruſh him, than thoſe can be who receive that public money by virtue of places without employment, and penſions without merit.

Property is merely the collection of labour: it poſſeſſes the very ſame qualities before, as after, it is collected into a heap; and the ſcattered labour of the lowest ranks is as real, and ought to be as really repreſented as the moſt fixed and ſolid property. Reaſon, we think, ſays this; and ſad experience has manifeſted, that giving political power excluſively to property collected, not to the maſs of living labour, has been in all ages, and particularly in modern times, the true cauſe of feudality, of vaſſalage, and of ariſtocratic deſpotiſm.

It is alſo uſed as an argument, that altho' in theory every man has a right to vote, yet the exerciſe of that right among us would be impracticable, or attended with outrage from the multitude of voters. To that we anſwer, that the practicability of the meaſure depends on a few regulations, which, we apprehend, can be eaſily contrived to render elections practicable and tranquil. Let there be a diviſion of the kingdom into parts, ſufficiently ſmall, and, as nearly as poſſible, equal with reſpect to population, and let the ſeveral elections annually commence and conclude throughout the kingdom on one and the ſame day.

Some friends to univerſal ſuffrage in a new country, urge a local objection to its being applied to Ireland. They ſay, that the lower claſſes of people in this country are peculiarly unfit for the exerciſe of ſuffrage, on account of their

their extreme ignorance. We know of no deſcription of people unfit for the exerciſe of their rights; and if we did, we would fit them for it by giving it to them. What has made thoſe claſſes ſo extremely ignorant? The privation of thoſe rights, which, if enjoyed, would have procured them knowledge. Apply the reverſe of that, which has debaſed, and it will exalt them. Give them the elective franchiſe, and let them exerciſe it directly. Is it not juſt to judge of what the people would be, when embodied into the conſtitution of their country, from their preſent ſtate of debaſement, in which they feel themſelves unconnected with it. We truſt that our countrymen, even the pooreſt, who are now ſtigmatized with the appellations of ſwine, wretches, and rabble, would, if reſtored to their rights, evince an elevation of ſentiment, which, ſetting every ſpecies of corruption at defiance, muſt humble the pride of wealth by the ſuperior luſtre of virtuous poverty.

Oppoſition ſeem ſurprized that the people ſhould view their debates with indifference. We will tell them the reaſon. It is becauſe nothing paſſes of a nature to animate and intereſt the people—nothing from which an individual can promiſe himſelf more happineſs, or the community more ſplendor—it is becauſe enthuſiaſm no longer lights up the countenance of *Grattan*, and ſwells every heart with ſomething great and good, and with a proſpect of ſomething greater and better—it is becauſe there appears no internal ſpring of action, no fixture of character! but good and bad qualities, as it were—external—and neither virtues nor vices their own. It is becauſe once in ſeven years the people are treated as Majeſty, and in the interval maltreated as mob.

We have not in our Plan of Reform paled in little parks of Ariſtocracy. Our Plan has not been deſcribed with a pair of compaſſes, nor have we defaced with childiſh circles

circles the ſyſtem of nature, and the chart of the Conſtitution. There is no truth in any political ſyſtem, in which the ſun of liberty is not placed in the center, with knowledge to enlighten, and benevolence to warm and invigorate; with the ſame ray to gild the palace and illuminate the cottage. The earth moves,' ſaid Galileo, and the ſun ſtands ſtill, He was impriſoned for the heretical aſſertion, for a libel againſt the law of nature, and for exciting ſedition among the ſtars—but the earth moves notwithſtanding; and in ſpite of fine, impriſonment, pillory, and tranſportation, the Rights of Man are the immoveable center of the Britiſh Conſtitution, that has hitherto regulated time and determined Revolutions.

Indeed the local circumſtances ſeem to us rather in favour of introducing it into Ireland. We have lately had occaſion, in conſidering the Catholic claims, to examine into the foundations of government. The Catholic has taught all Ireland, that to be taxed or legiſlated for, without being repreſented, is an oppreſſion, which ſinks the ſufferer into a ſlave. He inſiſted on his right to the elective ſuffrage, becauſe he was bound by the laws, and contributed to the expences of the ſtate. The doctrine, once broached, can never be forgotten; and the remaining ſlaves whom reform ſhall not have raiſed to the rank of citizen, will remember the argument of the Catholic, and ask himſelf—"am I not bound by the laws; and do I not, in my humble ſphere, contribute to the expences of the ſtate? Why am I not repreſented? Is it not my right; and ſhall I not inſiſt upon my right?"

Sooner or later the meaſure muſt come. The eternal principle of juſtice will be repeated in louder and louder tones, until at length it muſt be heard and obſerved. Why not now? Why leave behind a ſource of new reforms, perhaps, of convulſions? If reform only communicate power

power to a greater number, and do not give liberty to all, it will only ſtrengthen the ruling and weaken the oppreſſed body; ſo that when the ſlave ſhall have acquired ſufficient courage to ſpeak, the obſtinacy of the citizen will compel him to act. We cannot forget the language made uſe of to intimidate the Catholic from proſecuting his claims, and that thoſe very claims, ſhortly after having been rejected with ſcorn, were admitted with reſpect. The ſame line of prudence and wiſdom will, we are perſuaded, be purſued in the caſe of reform, whenever convincing proof of the public ſentiment ſhall be received on that ſubject, and the kingdom, by the reſtoration of univerſal ſuffrage, be delivered over to uninterrupted peace and happineſs.

Contemplating this grateful proſpect, we ſmile, with much internal ſatisfaction, on hearing thoſe intemperate and abuſive expreſſions, which the members of oppoſition make uſe of againſt this ſociety. We ſmile at their inability to conceal the vexation and diſappointment they have felt on finding themſelves forſaken by the people—(that people, whoſe Majeſty they inſult, but whoſe forbearance they at the ſame time ſolicit—on finding themſelves falling, like the oſtentatious balloon, from that height, to which t hey had riſen by a ſort of inflammable levity, and there ſuſtained ſolely by the breath of popular favour.

We ſmile at the curious coalition of political parties againſt our Society—to ſee them all club their wiſdom and their wit, to manifeſt to the whole country that we are really formidable—but we are rather inclined to pity that forced fraternity, that monſtrous conjunction which, in ſpite of the horror of inſtinct, and the antipathy of nature, can join in one common effort the higheſt genius with the loweſt ribaldry—how great muſt be the panic that can unite ſuch extremes! We can bear, as we have born, the common-

place

place invective againſt this Society; but we feel ſome indignation, when they, who ſhould look on themſelves as the purchaſed property of the people; to whoſe fortune every man, even "the Beggar on the Bridge" has contributed; whom the "ſhouts of the mob" have raiſed to the height of their fame—when ſuch men inveigh againſt armed beggary and ſhabby ſedition---we cannot but remember a time, when the uſual adjunct to their own names was "Shabby and Seditious Incendiaries." It is not manly, it is not decorous to deal out this contumelious language againſt the great maſs of mankind. The uſe of contemptuous terms diſpoſes to contemptuous treatment, and thoſe, whom we vilify as mob, we ſoon learn to ſlight as men. It is the unequa partition of rights, and what reſults from this, the arrogance of power, and the abaſement of poverty, which make mob, inſtigate to tumult, and goad to inſurrection.

If the people were reſpected, they would revenge the conſtituted authorities; but to gain this reſpect, they muſt poſſeſs thoſe rights, which are the prerogative of their nature, and the worth of manhood.

CHAP. IV.

Earl Fitzwilliam appointed Lord Lieutenant---Addreſs of the Roman Catholics to him---His anſwer---Addreſs of the Proteſtant diſſenters---His anſwer---Recal of Lord Fitzwilliam intended---Addreſs to him of the Freemen and and Freeholders of Dublin thereupon---Proceedings of the Freeholders, &c. of Co. Kildare.---National Debt.---Meeting of Parliament under Lord Camden.---Motion reſpecting the removal of Lord Fitzwilliam.---Mr. Grattan's ſpeech.---Trial of Rev. Mr. Jackſon.---Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech on concluding the ſeſſions.

ON 4th January, 1795, the Earl of Weſtmoreland was ſucceeded in the government of Ireland by the Earl of Fitzwilliam: the latter was univerſally received with every degree of public approbation, and the general voice of the country ſeemed to expreſs unanimous ſatisfaction at this appointment. Congratulatory addreſſes were preſented to him on his arrival, from all claſſes and deſcriptions, through every county and from almoſt every town.—The following may ſerve to ſhew in what eſtimation this nobleman was held, even by thoſe of the moſt oppoſite perſuaſion.

An addreſs preſented to his Excellency the LORD LIEUTENANT, by a numerous body of ROMAN CATHOLICS, who went in proceſſion from the Rotunda to the Caſtle.

"*May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

"We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects the Catholics of the city of Dublin, beg leave to approach your

your Excellency with our moſt ſincere and heart-felt congratulation on your appointment to the high and important office of Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom.——We entreat your Excellency to believe, that it is with more than ordinary gratitude we receive this additional proof of the paternal goodneſs of our moſt gracious Sovereign, in deputing a Nobleman who, from his character, ſituation, and talents, his intimate connexion with, and extenſive property in this country, we entertain the moſt founded hopes, will ſtrenuouſly and ſucceſsfully promote the intereſts of Ireland—and our gratification is ſtill heightened by the ſtrong impreſſion we feel, that thoſe men will ſtand foremoſt in your Excellency's confidence, who have on all great occaſions appeared the moſt powerful ſupporters of the intereſt of their country—and to whoſe exertions the Catholics of Ireland are ſo peculiarly indebted.

" Relieved, as we have been recently, from the preſſure of many ſevere and degrading incapacities—we hope to manifeſt to your Excellency, that our gratitude is commenſurate with the benefits we have received, of the value and extent of which we are deeply ſenſible—and we can, with confidence, aſſert, that when it ſhall ſeem good to the Legiſlature to remove thoſe diſabilities which yet remain, our demeanour will be that of men worthy of receiving complete relief from a gracious and beneficent Monarch, and a liberal and enlightened legiſlature.

" We entreat your Excellency to receive our ſincere profeſſions of loyalty to our Sovereign, to whoſe paternal recommendation we feel ſo much indebted—and of inviolable attachment to the principles of our moſt excellent conſtitution, into whoſe boſom it is our utmoſt ambition to be admitted; and, we truſt that to your Excellency's adminiſtration is reſerved the glory of compleating the

benevolent wish of the Father of his People, for the union of all his subjects in sentiment, interest and affection, by an abolition of all partial restrictions, founded only on religious distinction;—thereby insuring security and protection to the Catholics, and strength, honour, and prosperity to Ireland."

To which his Excellency was pleased to reply:

"*Gentlemen*,

"I return you thanks for this Address. The spirit of loyalty which it breathes towards his Majesty's person and government, the attachment which it evidences to our happy constitution, the approbation of my principles and of my past conduct, which it conveys, and the confidence it professes to repose in my dispositions, to employ the great trust his Majesty has placed in my hands, in promoting the welfare and happiness of this kingdom, cannot but afford me singular satisfaction.

"From the submissive and peaceable conduct of the Catholics of Ireland, under the pressure of restrictions, which considerations of temporary policy, and circumstances peculiar to some unhappy periods of civil dissension, had imposed, there is every reason, at this day, to rely on them for firm fidelity and cordial allegiance. The language you now hold confirms this reasonable expectation; while the gratitude you express to our beloved Sovereign for his paternal care, to which you so loyally and justly ascribe the first openings of your emancipation, and the sentiments you entertain of the magnanimity of a liberal and enlightened parliament, that rose superior to the prejudices of ages, and displayed a cordial disposition to cease to discriminate between his Majesty's subjects, when every motive for that discrimination had ceased, must be highly satisfactory to every description of your fellow-subjects. Such declarations,

tions, while they bear so visible a stamp of sincerity and truth, as your address discovers, must afford a pleasing earnest of the happy consequences that necessarily follow from mutual confidence and reciprocal trust among the inhabitants of the same empire, and manifest the wisdom of the measure that had led the way to that unity of sentiment and interest, on which, as on their only solid basis, the strength and prosperity of nations rest.

"In the faithful discharge of my duty to his Majesty, it shall be my study to call to my councils those who are distinguished and known for their wisdom, their integrity, and their talents—and who possess the confidence of his Majesty's people. Assisted by their advice, and availing myself of their support, I trust that I shall be enabled to promote the first wishes of his Majesty's heart, by securing the full and cordial union of all his subjects, as the surest means of securing their happiness. On your part I shall rely for corresponding sentiments, and that you will evince, by more than professions, that you are determined to make common cause with a brave, loyal, and free people, in opposing all the enemies of his Majesty's person and government, in guarding against all encroachments on our excellent Constitution, and in preserving the internal peace and tranquillity of your country."

PROTESTANT DISSENTERS ADDRESS.

To his Excellency WILLIAM FITZWILLIAM, Earl FITZWILLIAM, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland.

"*May it please your Excellency*,

"We beg leave, in the name, and by the appointment of his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Protestant Dissenters

Diſſenters of Ireland, to preſent our ſincere congratulations to your Excellency on your ſafe arrival in this kingdom.—While we approach your Excellency with peculiar ſatisfaction, as the approved friend of civil and religious liberty, and the inheritor of the virtues of your illuſtrious kinſman, the late Marquis of Rockingham, we cannot but deem your Excellency's appointment to the high ſtation you now hold, a diſtinguiſhed mark of his Majeſty's paternal regard for the intereſts of this country."

"Deriving from our anceſtors a high and ſacred veneration for the principles of the glorious revolution, which placed the auguſt houſe of Hanover on the Throne of theſe kingdoms, we humbly truſt that our conduct will on every occaſion ſecure your Excellency's favourable repreſentation of our affectionate and ſteady attachment to the perſon, family, and government of our moſt gracious Sovereign."

"Permit us to expreſs our conviction that your Excellency's adminiſtration will be directed by that enlightened wiſdom which cannot fail to promote the true dignity of his Majeſty's Crown, and your Excellency's higheſt honour, as inſeparable from the real welfare, proſperity and happineſs of Ireland."

To which his Excellency was pleaſed to return the following Anſwer:

"*Gentlemen*,

"It is with peculiar ſatisfaction I receive this addreſs from the Proteſtant Diſſenters of the kingdom of Ireland."

"Whoever reveres the Conſtitution or values the liberties, which the ſubjects of the Britiſh empire ſo ſingularly enjoy,

joy, muſt recollect with pleaſure, that at a moment of moſt ſignal danger to both, when from the intrigues and machinations of France, this kingdom was involved in all the horrors of civil war, it was to the dauntleſs ſpirit and the perſevering efforts of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, that it was, in a great meaſure, indebted, for their preſervation."

"I give you full credit for your profeſſions of attachment to the perſon, family and government of our moſt gracious Sovereign, and for the high and ſacred veneration, which you expreſs for the principles that placed his auguſt family on the Throne, as guardians, under Providence, of our rights and liberties; and I am perſuaded, that now, when theſe rights and theſe liberties are, as in the days of your anceſtors, threatened and endangered by the ſame reſtleſs enemy though under different diſguiſes, you will enable me by your conduct to repreſent you to his Majeſty, as cordially uniting with every other deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom in defending the rights of his Crown, and in ſecuring the bleſſings which we all enjoy under his moſt auſpicious reign."

"As to myſelf, perſonally, you have indeed gratified the beſt and deareſt feelings of my heart, by calling to my recollection and propoſing to my imitation the revered kinſman, under whoſe eye I have been brought up, and by whoſe precepts, my principles and opinions have been formed."

"The intereſts of this kingdom, occupied at all times a principal plan in his cares; and it ſhall be my peculiar ſtudy, during the courſe of my adminiſtration, to enable her to enjoy in quiet and tranquillity the bleſſings of that conſtitution which it was the laſt act of his life to ſecure to her."

From

From the character, diſpoſition and abilities of Earl Fitzwilliam, the moſt zealous hopes were entertained, that all ground of internal differences would be done away, that a comple at emancipation o f the Roman Catholics would take place, and that Iriſh freedom and national unanimity would be eſtabliſhed on a happy and permanent baſis.

This expectation however, was ſoon diſappointed—the removal of that nobleman was ſuddenly determined on, and he ſurrendered the government of this country, taking his departure from it on 25th March.

No ſooner was the intention of their change diſcovered, than he received addreſſes from almoſt every corporate body in the kingdom :—and remonſtrances againſt it were even carried to the foot of the Throne. The limits of this work, will not admit an inſertion of all the reſolutions and addreſſes, entered into and framed on this occaſion —the following proceedings may, nevertheleſs, ſufficiently evince the public opinion, and ſerve as an abridgement of what occurred upon that ſubject.

At a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, convened by public notice at the Royal Exchange, on Friday 6th February, 1795. Alderman Henry Howiſon, in the Chair,

The following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to :

" That this meeting humbly petition the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, praying that he will permit his dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, to lay before the Throne, their ſincere profeſſions of the warmeſt and moſt unalterable attachment to his Majeſty's perſon, family, and government, and with hearts impreſſed with the moſt grateful ſenſations for the many

diſ-

diſtinguiſhed marks of paternal regard and attention which his Majeſty has from time to time conferred on us and our country, humbly now to implore his royal favour and protection."

"That amongſt the numerous inſtances of his Majeſty's beneficence to his Iriſh ſubjects, we have been peculiarly affected by his appointment of the Earl Fitzwilliam to the chief government of this kingdom, a nobleman endowed with thoſe public and private virtues which peculiarly fitted him to become the repreſentative of his Majeſty, in preſiding over a free and loyal nation, and that we looked to his adminiſtration as to a period in which Ireland was to enjoy contentment and proſperity."

"That we were induced to anticipate this happy conſequence from Earl Fitzwilliam's adminiſtration, by obſerving that he had called to his councils and confidence, thoſe perſons who had ever acted as the true friends of their King, country, and the conſtitution, and whoſe meaſures tended uniformly to promote the inſeparable intereſt of his Majeſty and his people.

"That on this occaſion we fondly hoped, that a little time would have completed the happy union of all his Majeſty's ſubjects, by the removal of thoſe civil diſtinctions, ariſing from differences in religious opinions; that a due and effectual inveſtigation would take place of thoſe abuſes which time and corruption had introduced into public offices and expenditure; and that ſuch ſalutary meaſures would be adopted as might ſecure his people from oppreſſion, and perpetuate their attachment to the conſtitution."

"That theſe, our pleaſing expectations, being ſuſpended, by an apprehenſion of the ſudden removal of the Earl Fitzwilliam from the government—we fear from the utmoſt anxiety a return of councils and meaſures, which melan-

melancholy experience leads us to deprecate as dangerous to his Majesty's interests, and the happiness of the people."

"That at a moment so interesting to us and our country, we throw ourselves for relief on his Majesty, the kind and beneficent father of his people, in humble confidence that it will not be vain, but that his Majesty will be graciously pleased, by interposing between us and this threatened calamity, to restore to a grateful nation, the prospect of those blessings, which they hold in so high estimation."

That this meeting do address his Excellency the Earl Fitzwilliam, on occasion of the report of his removal from the chief government of Ireland."

And a committee was appointed to prepare said petition and address, which being reported, were unanimously agreed to.

"Resolved unanimously, That it be the request of this meeting to our worthy fellow citizens Alderman Henry Howison and George Maquay, Esq; that they will gratify the earnest desire of the freemen and freeholders here assembled, by conveying their petition to his Majesty."

"Resolved, That Alderman Howison and the gentlemen of the committee do attend Earl Fitzwilliam with our address."

At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county of Kildare, held at Naas, this 26th of March, 1795, pursuant to adjournment,—Sir Fenton Aylmer, Bt. in the Chair.

Michael Aylmer, Esq; having reported to the meeting that

that on the 18th of March, inſt. John Taylor, Eſq; and he, had preſented the petition agreed to at the laſt meeting of this county to his Majeſty.

" Reſolved, That we hereby return the thanks of this county to John Taylor and Michael Aylmer, Eſqrs. for having fulfilled the commiſſion intruſted to their charge at our laſt meeting."

" Reſolved, That it is with inexpreſſible regret we learn by the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam from this country, that his Majeſty has not been pleaſed to grant the prayer of our humble and dutiful petition; and we moſt ſeriouſly apprehend that the removal of that exalted character from the government, and with him the tried friends of Ireland from its councils, is preparatory to the reſtoration of the former ſyſtem of malverſation under which the people were plundered, diſgraced, and irritated."

" That under circumſtances of ſuch juſtifiable alarm, it is the duty of every good ſubject to watch the ſteps of the new adminiſtration with firmneſs and circumſpection, but at the ſame time with patience and perſeverance."

" And, That we ſhall deem the ſucceſs or failure of the ſerious queſtion of Catholic Emancipation the beſt criterion to judge, whether it be the intention of the new Miniſtry to unite and conciliate the affections of all the people, or to convince them at once that it is predetermined to divide, and then to put them down."

" Reſolved, That the foregoing Reſolutions, together with our petition to his Majeſty, be printed in the Dublin Evening Poſt, the Hibernian and Dublin Journals, the Northern Star, and London Sun and Star."

FENTON AYLMER, High Sheriff."

PETI-

PETITION

PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY, 18th of MARCH, 1795.

"We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the county Kildare, in the kingdom of Ireland, duly convened by the High Sheriff, beg leave to approach your Majesty with assurance of the most unfeigned gratitude and affection for the many blessings we derive thro' the medium of our happy constitution, under your Majesty's wise and benignant reign.

"We beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty that we consider the appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam to the government of Ireland as a peculiar instance of our beloved Sovereign's consideration for the welfare and happiness of his people. Inasmuch as we look forward with anxious hope in the administration of a nobleman possessing so high a character for integrity, ability, and liberal sentiments, to behold our fellow subjects of every religious description restored to the full enjoyment of their rights, and to see a complete reform in the many abuses existing in the government of this country; and we deemed it a happy earnest of those blessings that his Excellency was pleased to call to his councils men who had uniformly supported the true interests and honour of this kingdom.—When the most sanguine expectations were entertained, at the happy prospect of a wise and liberal administration, by which all invidious distinctions were to be done away, and when a whole people felt themselves united by a common interest in the support of our most excellent constitution, and in loyalty and affection to your Majesty's person and family, it was with the deepest concern we have learned that some misinformed Minister had been inconsiderate enough to advise your Majesty to frustrate the hopes of your people, by withdrawing Earl Fitzwilliam from the government of Ireland at this awful crisis."

That

"That we apprehend that his Excellency's departure will announce a return to the old ſyſtem of adminiſtration in this country, to prevent which we moſt humbly ſolicit the interference of your Majeſty, convinced as we are by fatal experience, that it is replete with miſchiefs from the diviſions it ſtruggles to eſtabliſh, the profuſion of expenditure it encourages, the conſequent burdens it is obliged to impoſe on the people, and the avowed contempt of public opinion it manifeſts."

"Penetrated as we are with the deepeſt ſenſe of your Majeſty's wiſe and benign diſpoſition, and convinced from experience of your Majeſty's deſire to promote the peace and ſecurity of your faithful ſubjects, we humbly preſume earneſtly to beſeech your Majeſty to take into your moſt ſerious conſideration the alarming ſituation of this country, and to give ſuch inſtructions to your Majeſty's miniſters as may tend to calm the apprehenſions of your loyal and affectionate people, and to reſtore confidence to the adminiſtration of public affairs in this kingdom. And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will pray."

AT a moſt numerous and reſpectable meeting of the CATHOLICS of the City of DUBLIN, convened by public notice, at the Chapel in Francis-ſtreet, on Thurſday the 9th of April, 1795.—JN. SWEETMAN, Eſq. being unanimouſly called to the chair,

Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, and Baron Huſſey, reported, "That they had on Friday the 13th of March, preſented the Petition of the Catholics of Dublin to his Majeſty, which Petition he was pleaſed to receive graciouſly; and that on application to his Majeſty's Miniſters for ſuch information as they might think fit to impart, the anſwer returned, was, that the King's pleaſure on the ſubject of the Catholic claims

claims was communicated to the Lord Lieutenant, and that he was the proper channel thro' whom it might be known; but that the deputation in conſequence of their inſtructions did not conſider themſelves at liberty to make any further application.

"Reſolved, That we ſee with the greateſt concern by the removal of our late much reſpected Viceroy, Earl Fitzwilliam, contrary to the unanimous wiſh of the whole people, how little the intereſts or the wiſhes of Ireland avail, in a matter of the higheſt import to her well-being

"Reſolved, That we derive conſolation under the loſs which we all ſuſtain by the removal of the late popular Adminiſtration, in contemplating the riſing ſpirit of harmony and co-operation among all ſects and deſcriptions of Iriſhmen, ſo rapidly accelerated by that event; and we do moſt earneſtly recommend to the Catholics of Ireland to cultivate by all poſſible means the friendſhip and affection of their Proteſtant brethren, ſatisfied as we are, that national union is national ſtrength, happineſs and proſperity."

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, be requeſted to introduce the Catholic Bill immediately on the meeting of Parliament."

[A paſſage from a printed book, entitled "A Letter from a venerated Nobleman, recently retired from this country, to the Earl of Carliſle," being read, to the following effect---"Then, for the firſt time, it appears to have been diſcerned, that the deferring the Catholic queſtion would be, not merely an expediency, or a thing to be deſired for the preſent---but THE MEANS OF DOING A GREATER SERVICE TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE THAN IT HAS BEEN CAPABLE OF RECEIVING SINCE THE REVOLUTION, OR AT LEAST SINCE THE UNION!! !" and alſo another paſſage, "That if the conſideration of this queſtion could

could be deferred *till the Peace was eſtabliſhed*---his Grace ſhould have no doubt but that it would be attended with advantages which perhaps are not to be hoped for in any other ſuppoſable caſe." And it appearing that thoſe expreſſions, ſuppoſed to be thoſe of a Perſonage in high official ſtation, can admit of no import or meaning other than that of a meditated Union between this country and Gt. Britain]

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That we are ſincerely and unalterably attached to the RIGHTS, LIBERTIES, and INDEPENDANCE of our NATIVE COUNTRY; and we pledge ourſelves, collectively and individually to reſiſt, even our own Emancipation---if propoſed to be conceded upon the ignominious terms of an acquieſcence in the fatal meaſure of AN UNION with the ſiſter kingdom."

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That while we make this undiſguiſed declaration of our ſentiments, in order to ſatisfy the Public mind, we are of opinion that a meaſure ſo full of violence and ruin, will never be hazarded; convinced as we are that no ſet of men will arrogate to themſelves a power which is contrary to the ends and purpoſes of all Government---a power to ſurrender the liberties of their country---and to ſeal the ſlavery of future generations."

[A numerous Aſſembly of the Students of the Univerſity who this day waited on the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, with an Addreſs, having appeared, and being admitted in the moſt reſpectful manner, amidſt the loudeſt plaudits of the Meeting---and the Secretary having, by their order, communicated their Addreſs, together with Mr. Grattan's Anſwer.]

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That we obſerve with grateful cordiality and honeſt exultation the appearance of ſo large and reſpectable a body of the learned and ingenuous youth of

of Ireland, this day among us; we accept their patriotic adoption of our cauſe as the ſureſt omen of its ſucceſs; convinced that the moſt malignant efforts of our corrupt and bigoted oppreſſors muſt ſpeedily give way to the UNION, irreſiſtible as it is natural, of letters with liberty, of wiſdom with juſtice, and of ſcience with truth---And we invite and requeſt the preſent reſpectable viſitors, and their brethren of the Univerſity, to honour our future meetings with their preſence and ſupport."

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That our ſincere and grateful thanks be and are hereby returned to our Proteſtant brethren of Belfaſt and of Dublin;---to the different counties and great cities who have addreſſed either the Crown or Parliament on our behalf---and to every body of men and every individual among our Proteſtant brethren, who have ſtood forward in the cauſe of Catholic emancipation---THE CAUSE OF IRISH LIBERTY."

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That the neceſſary expences in printing and otherwiſe, attendant on our preſent application to the Legiſlature, as well as the engagements of the late general committee, remaining ſtill in a great meaſure undiſcharged, and for which the credit of the Catholic Body is pledged---require the meaſure of a ſpeedy and liberal Subſcription."

"Reſolved unanimouſly therefore, That we recommend earneſtly to our fellow citizens in the different pariſhes of this city, to appoint Gentlemen forthwith in each pariſh, to receive ſuch ſubſcriptions as may be offered for the above juſt and neceſſary purpoſes;---and we call on the Catholics of Ireland to co-operate with us, by contributing on their parts liberally towards the diſcharge of the debts incurred in the purſuit of our common emancipation."

Signed by Order of the Catholics of Dublin,
RICH. M'CORMICK Sec"

To

To ſhew the ſtate of the public mind at this criſis, it may not be irrelevant to inſert the following compariſons which was drawn in ſome of the public papers, between Lord Fitzwilliam's and Lord Weſtmoreland's Adminiſtration.

LORD WESTMORELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

Session 1ſt.——Sale of peerages; creation of 14 new parliamentary places to buy the members.—Attack on the rights of the corporation of Dublin. Protection to the abuſes of the Police.—Rejection of place bill, penſion bill, reſponſibility bill, and revenue officer's bill.

Session 2d.——Evaſion of plan propoſed to encourage the brewery, and diſcourage the exceſſive uſe of ſpirits—Reſiſtance to an Eaſt India trade—Protection of the abuſes of the police.---A rejection of the above bill, and defence of fiats.

Session 3d.——Rejection of the Catholic petition.---Inſtruction to the Grand Juries to enter into reſolutions againſt the Catholic franchiſe.---Defence of the abuſes of Police, and rejection of the above bills.

Session 4th.——Gunpowder bill, Convention bill, and protection of the abuſes of the police.---On the other hand, the Penſion bill, and in an imperfect ſhape the Place bill of the Oppoſition at laſt adopted---together with another meaſure of the oppoſition, a relief, but a partial one, to the Catholics.---and the Eaſt India trade given up for a more ample poſſeſſion of the Weſt,---All the regular army ſent out of the kingdom.---A Treaſury Board eſtabliſhed in expence, but not in power, nor utility.

Seſſion 5th.——Recommendation of the Biſhop of Cloyne to the Provoſt, who was to have been alſo Biſhop of Oſſory, and to have had two boroughs for the uſe of Government.—Plundered of every great reverſion in the country.—Breach of law by the illegal expenditure of money without account or authority.—Leaving the country without an army or arms; and that moſt ſcandalous and ſwindling buſineſs, the new regiments.

LORD FITZWILLIAMS's ADMINISTRATION OF SIX WEEKS.

Hearth-money taken off the poor.—Exciſe taken off the beer and ale.—All reſtrictions, pains and penalties, taken off the trade of a brewer.—Check given to the exceſſive uſe of ſpirituous liquors. Reſponſibility in the expenditure of public money eſtabliſhed. Abuſes of the Police aboliſhed.—Enquiry into the expences of the collecting the revenue permitted. Forty-three thouſand men propoſed for the defence of the kingdom. Roman Catholic Emancipation propounded. The oppreſſive office of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Revenue aboliſhed. The Primacy reſcued from a monopolizing breed of Jobbers, and given to learning and piety.—The College reſcued from a ſtranger, an intruder, and a Jobber, and committed to the care of one of its own body.

The deſpotiſm of Clerks deſpoſed—and the triump of vice in private as well as in public, interrupted.

For the Crown they got a greater body of force than ever was before granted, and a greater ſupply than formerly. After all done in favour of trade and the poor, yet on a calculation it appeared they raiſed the revenue near 200,000*l.* per annum.

Let

Let us now advert to the Debt of the Nation. In the year 1791, it was 2,231,000l. in 1793 it amounted to 2,344,000l. and in 1795, it was no leſs than 3,082,000l.

On the departure of Earl Fitzwilliam, his Grace the Lord Primate, and the Lord Chancellor were ſworn Lords Juſtices. They held the reins of government until 31ſt March, on which day Earl Camden arrived and took upon him the government of this Country.

To the loſs of Earl Fitzwilliam, has in a great meaſure been attributed thoſe unhappy diſturbances which not long after took place amongſt us; the cauſes of his recal became a ſubject of parliamentary conſideration, both here and in Great Britain. The public mind appeared to be in a ferment; perſons of every religious perſuaſion ſeemed determined to unite in one political ſentiment, and this was ſtill ſtrengthened by the diſappointment the Roman Catholics received, by their efforts for a complete emancipation being defeated the enſuing ſeſſion. We have already ſtated ſo fully the arguments which were offered in parliament on both ſides of this queſtion, during ſome former ſittings, that we are obliged to forbear adding what occurred on that ſubject in the ſeſſion of 1795, as it would be little more than recapitulation.

On the 31ſt of April, the houſe of Commons met purſuant to adjournment, amongſt other proceedings Mr. Grattan, moved that a committee ſhould be appointed to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation: the object of which was, to inveſtigate the cauſe of Earl Fitzwilliam's ſudden recal from this country. The motion was negatived by a majority of 110. * "In the courſe of debate, it appeared that arrangements and not meaſures were the real cauſes of Lord Fitzwilliam's removal; and upon the whole,

* View of Iriſh Affairs Vol. 2d. Page 275.

it was evident, that there had been too much addreſs upon one part, and too much placidity on the other."

On this occaſion, Mr. Grattan, in the courſe of debate, ſpoke as follows.

"He obſerved that the queſtion was not whether Lord Weſtmoreland had diſpenſed with Acts of Parliament, but being, by papers on your table, convicted of having exerciſed a diſpenſing power, the queſtion was, whether the Houſe ſhould proceed to impeach him. I am ſure you ought. Nothing can be ſo evident as the law, except it be a breach of it. The King in 69 ſent a meſſage to this Houſe, that 12,000 men were neceſſary to be kept within the kingdom of Ireland! for its defence at all times, ſave only invaſion or rebellion in Great Britain. His Meſſage is reduced in the Committee of Supply into the following reſolution: That 12,000 men are neceſſary for the defence of the kingdom—That to enable his Majeſty to carry into execution his determined reſolution, ſignified by the Lord Lieutenant, to keep within this kingdom 12,000 men at all times for the neceſſary defence of the ſame, rebellion or invaſion in Great Britain excepted---it is neceſſary to augment the army 3,000 men. Thus the king's promiſe is made matter of record, and of covenant;---and the additional force and the ſupply granted on this condition of his fulfilling his part of the covenant ſo recorded. This covenant is then made matter of law, and reduced into proviſions in the Money Bill; which proviſions run nearly as follows;---they recite the ſenſe of the Legiſlature that 12,000 men are neceſſary to be kept within this country for its defence, and grant the additional 3,000 men to ſecure the preſence of the 12,000 men. They then recite too the King's promiſe and determined reſolution to keep at all times, ſave the two excepted caſes, 12,000 men within the kingdom for its defence, and then grant him the ſupply for THAT PURPOSE,

as

as well as the other purpoſes of Government. The practice has been accordingly---and in 75 and 82, when that portion of the troops were wanted abroad, the Government applied and obtained an Act of Parliament. This proviſion is always a proviſion in the Mutiny Bill, and continues every year repeated in the Committee of Supply---repeated in the Money Bill---and repeated in the Mutiny Bill. It follows that by the laws of Ireland no Lord Lieutenant can remove the troops out of Ireland, ſo as to diminiſh the number below the complement of 12,000. Now by the papers on the table, namely, the Army Returns, which are complete evidence, it appears Lord Weſtmoreland did reduce your army in the months of June, Auguſt, September, October, and November, to 8,000, and in ſome of thoſe months to 6,000;—it follows that the Earl of Weſtmoreland has diſpenſed with the laws of Ireland—it follows that the Earl of Weſtmoreland has offended againſt the Declaration of Rights, and has violated the principles of the revolution—he has committed an act for which James II. was depoſed, and when he was on the throne as Viceroy, was a greater offender againſt the law than any ordinary delinquent---the motion is not ſo much to try his offence as to proceed on his conviction. We heard the other day the revolution ſet up againſt the Catholics, moſt improperly and fictitiouſly---we now ſet up moſt neceſſarily and properly the Revolution againſt the Viceroy, whoſe advocates have ſet up the Revolution againſt the Catholics, and the diſpenſing power againſt the Revolution."

"It ſeems the Marquis of Buckingham may negociate the ſale of Peerages, and break the law with impunity---it ſeems his ſucceſſor Lord Weſtmoreland may remove the troops and break the law with impunity, and that Ireland, under the ſyſtem of the Britiſh Cabinet pays 20,000l. a

year

year to her Governors for breaking her laws—and this is the ſyſtem which is to put anarchy to the bluſh. Lord Weſtmoreland's friends have ſaid in the debate that he only obeys his orders---that is, his friends ſay in other words that he was not a Viceroy but a perfect nothing. But ſuch an excuſe as this we muſt not receive---as long as any man ſhall be placed in the ſituation of a Lord Lieutenant or Governor of Ireland, ſo long in ſuppoſition of law is he an accountable officer, a ſelf-agent---anſwerable to Parliament for miſconduct---violation---delinquencies of any and of every ſort. Were this argument true, it would ſeem that the Engliſh Court was an aſylum for Iriſh culprits---a bar to the privileges of our Catholics, and a protection to the breaches of our law. If ſuch an offence as this is ſuffered to be paſſed over, how can any miniſter talk again of the Revolution, or of the lawleſſneſs of the people of Ireland when the Chief Magiſtrate himſelf, namely, the Lord Lieutenant is the greateſt offender againſt law, and a recorded violator of the principles of the Revolution---a convicted offender breaks the King's covenant---violates the declaration of right---exerciſes a diſpenſing power which when exerciſed by a King was the attainder of the Crown. Under theſe circumſtances how can we avoid proceeding againſt Ld. W?---how can we otherwiſe diſpoſe of him? Here are the laws which contain the covenant, and here are the army returns which contain the breach of it---can we covin with Lord Weſtmoreland, and combine and confederate with him againſt the law---againſt the revolution---againſt the declaration of rights---againſt the maxims which placed his Majeſty's Family on the Throne. Will you ſuffer a Chief Governor thus convicted to eſcape ?---Does the principles of the revolution exiſt in Ireland ? May a Viceroy with impunity diſpenſe with an act of Parliament in Ireland ? The King certainly cannot do ſo in England. Tet us know the

nature

nature of our government---of our practical government, and the reality of thoſe bleſſings which are told we enjoy under our moſt happy Conſtitution, which I admit to be moſt excellent, and therefore would proceed againſt a Viceroy, who has offended againſt that conſtitution. Is the Iriſh Viceroy above the law? If not---proceed againſt Lord W. for he has broke the law. If Lord Weſtmoreland is not an offender, James the 2d. was innocent. If an Iriſh Viceroy may with impunity diſpenſe with an act of Parliament---an Act do I ſay---a hoſt of them---if this Houſe, knowing this, with the evidence of his guilt ſtaring you in the face. Why then do we ſpeak of the Revolution, or of that much injured Prince James the 2d. who did not it ſeems know how to abdicate---much injured Houſe of Stuart! not in my opinion, becauſe I would proceed againſt the Viceroy that tread in their foot-ſteps---but much injured in my opinion by thoſe who approve of its pernicious principle and practices reſtored in the Government of Ireland, in the perſon of that Viceroy, whoſe conduct calls ſo loudly for IMPEACHMENT.---But, ſay Gentlemen, you have not before you the whole of the caſe---not ſo far as is neceſſary to prove the exerciſe of a diſpenſing power, and to impeach Lord Weſtmoreland. The evidence is complete---as far as is neceſſary to give complete knowledge of the miſconduct of his Government.——The evidence is not complete---on examination you will find that ſmall as the force is which appears on your paper, it is greater than the effective force that could have been brought to act. Lord Weſtmoreland, 'tis notorious, left you at a certain time, with ſcarce any army whatſoever; he ſent away almoſt all your artillery men; he left you without arms---and as far as depended on the conduct of the Chief Governor, he abdicated Ireland to France; had France made a deſcent, ſuch was the miſconduct of that Viceroy, ſhe had found Ireland, thro' his miſconduct, without army,

without

without arms, and without artillery. This is the second instance of a war in which the Ministers of the Crown have taken out of the kingdom its necessary defence, and have left her naked in wars in which they had involved her; the first was the removal of the troops by Act of Parliament between 1776 and 1779—the second was the removal of the troops in the second instance, *without* Act of Parliament, and *against* Act of Parliament. Perhaps Gentlemen on a still further examination would find that the exercise of a dispensing power, and the dereliction of the country to France by the Earl of Westmoreland, WERE NOT THE ONLY CHARGES AGAINST GOVERNMENT—but that the brokerage in the management of the army—the many foul practices, and the shocking system of JOBBING and the Traffic, are to be added to other considerations, to whom the crime belongs—how far such practices extend, I cannot presume to ascertain, but I must say that it is necessary for the credit of Lord Westmoreland, that he should acquit himself of those practices which did take place under his Government, and which, tho' less penal, often the dispensing power in the point of law, yet in common opinion are not less reprehensible—more dishonorable. A Member suggests a defence, 'tis an extraordinary one: his defence for removing the troops! is that most excellent substitute for the defence of the kingdom—the new levies. But, Sir, these new levies come not within the letter, as little as within the meaning of the Act of Parliament; they were not in your pay, and therefore can be no part of the 12,000 men covenanted in the Committee of Supply, or in the Money Bill—they are not any part of your establishment—they were entirely incomplete; they were not armed, and instead of being raised to be kept within the country for its defence—they were levied to be sent immediately out of it—there the suggestion of such an argument therefore is the suggestion of an invasion, not of a defence, it

is

is the ſuggeſtion of a trick—of an impoſtorſhip—of a fraud; it is not a bad defence, but a ſcandalous prevarication—a ſort of *clerk-like* dexterity—but ſo clumſy, ſo miſerable, and ſo glaring—that it does not keep within the letter of the act, whoſe object it profeſſes to defraud, and of whoſe proviſions it profeſſes to cheat the Public."

"It is therefore not an evaſion of an act, but an attempt to invade it—an unfortunate conceit, and an abortive eſſay to go out of proviſions of law by duplicity and trick, and ſuch a ſuggeſtion and piece of craft it is, as would render it impoſſible hereafter for the people to enter into any covenant with the King, or to hope to bind his Majeſty by an act of Parliament; it tends therefore to put an end to all dealing with the Crown, and therefore for its miſchief to the Government, as to the people, deſerves the ſcorn which it has received ſo abundantly. The gentleman who advances this argument ſaid, that no Government had kept up preciſely within the kingdom, at all times, the 12,000 men, therefore, ſays he, every Government has diſpenſed with the law. This is an obſervation made by a gentleman who has been, if not in the ſervice of the very Government, at leaſt in every Government train. What! becauſe you can't make 12,000 effective men on paper, turn out 12,000 effective men in their ſhoes; they need not be more than 8,000; not more than 7,000; more than 6,000; THEY NEED NOT BE ANY THING. And on two ſuch doctrines is the diſpenſing power in Ireland defended. But we have underſtood Lord Weſtmoreland's offence, when we ſaid he was bound to keep 12,000 men in the kingdom. He was in fact bound to keep 17,000 men: he got 5,000 additional in 93, for the additional defence of the kingdom, ſo are the words of the act. In addition to the 12,000, the act ſays, it may be neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of affairs to keep 5,000 more

more for the defence of the kingdom. Such has been your providence; such the effect of it. Ireland, say gentlemen, was preserved in Germany. America was said to have been conquered in Germany, but it was when France was beaten in Germany; but in the present war, England did not think herself defended in Germany the last year, for she was raising troops of every description for her defence, while the Irish Viceroy was robbing Ireland against the law, of the troops actually raised for your defence.

"Gentlemen have said, that the army returns don't include the commissioned and non-commissioned, nor the invalids: The answer, is, they include both [see the returns]. Gentlemen have shewn a surprize that a member who was appointed a Militia Colonel by Lord Westmoreland should take steps against him for breaking the law. His situation in the country commanded the appointment; the same situation, and his duty demand penal proceedings. I give it my entire consent. I must observe, 'tis a striking circumstance, that in a debate where the conduct of Lord Westmoreland towards the Irish army has been so publicly and so loudly arraigned, no one veteran of the army, nor any old officer, has ventured to defend him. They are men of honour. I must also observe that the House on both sides acknowledge his guilt, for instead of putting a negative on the resolution, they move the order of the day: so that the public is to collect that the House acknowledges the offence. tho' they wish to save the offender."

On the 23 of April, the following trial came on in the Court of King's Bench.

The KING, v. Rev. WM. JACKSON.

This was a Trial on a charge of High Treason against the prisoner, for compassing and imagining the King's death,

death, and for adhering to his enemies, by carrying on a traitorous correſpondence with the perſons exerciſing the government of France now, and for a long time paſt, at open war with the King, and endeavouring to induce them to invade this kingdom, by ſhips and armed men, and to overturn his Majeſty's government.

The court was opened at ten o'clock. The Judges who ſat were the Lord Chief Juſtice Clonmel, and Judges Downes and Chamberlaine.

The proſecution was opened by councellor French, and the caſe ſtated by Mr. Attorney General, which took up about an hour and an half.—The indictment, he ſaid, conſiſted of fourteen diſtinct counts, which all went to two diſtinct points of criminality—the one purpoſing and imagining the King's death, and the other adhering to the King's enemies, either of which, by the ſtatute of Edward III. upon which the priſoner was now indicted, conſtituted in law the horrid crime of High Treaſon.

Theſe crimes, he ſaid, were the only inſtance in our laws where the proof of intention, without the actual completion of the crime, amounted to a degree of capital guilt, and is made death.—The intereſt which the people have in the life of their Sovereign is of ſuch importance to the community, as to render it neceſſary for the legiſlature to guard that life with the moſt vigilant precaution, and to puniſh in the firſt inſtance any overt-act that ſhall manifeſt any of thoſe intents and tendencies which are likely to terminate in, or have for their object, the King's death.

But at the ſame time that the law has thus wiſely guarded the ſacred life of the Sovereign, it has taken ſpecial care that no man charged with the criminal intent of compaſſing or imagining the deſtruction of that life,

ſhall

ſhall be convicted of the charge on ſlight grounds. The guilt of the perſon charged ſhall be firſt manifeſt by the clear proof of ſome overt-act of treaſon, ſo as to ſubſtantiate the guilt.

Mr. Attorney General having concluded his ſtatement; Mr. Cockayne was the principal witneſs examined.

His teſtimony was protracted to a very great length, much beyond our bounds, in minute detail; but the ſubſtance of his proof was, that he had returned from France, where he had been abſent a few years, both before and ſince the Revolution, about the beginning of 1794; that in conſequence of a confidential intercourſe, witneſs diſcovered ſome treaſonable deſigns on the part of the priſoner, which, as a loyal ſubject, who had thrice ſworn allegiance to his Majeſty, he felt it his duty to counteract. This he communicated to Mr. Pitt.

It appeared that the priſoner owed the witneſs about 250l. which he expreſſed to Mr. Pitt the apprehenſion of loſing by his interference to counteract the priſoner's treaſonable deſigns; that Mr. Pitt aſſured him he ſhould be no loſer, and that, by order, he come along with the priſoner to Ireland, about the beginning of April 1794, and arrived in Dublin, and took lodgings at Hyde's Coffee-houſe; that in conſequence of renewing an acquaintance with Counſellor M'Nally, the priſoner was invited to dine at that gentleman's, as was the witneſs, where they met Mr. Lewines, Mr. Simon Butler, and ſome other gentlemen.

The diſcourſe there turned on politics, the diſaffection of certain claſſes of the people in Ireland, and the probable conſequences of an attempt for invaſion;—that thro' the medium of Lewines, the priſoner, in conſequence of ſhewing

ing as his credentials a letter of recommendation from Henry Holford Stone, of Paris, (who was a partner with a Mr. Benjamin Beresford, brother-in-law to Mr. A. H. Rowan) to Mr. Horne Tooke, of London, the priſoner obtained an introduction to Mr. Rowan, in Newgate, whether the witneſs accordingly accompanied him, and where he entered into a conſpiracy with Mr. Rowan and ſome other perſons to endeavour to perſuade a Mr. T. W. Tone, and afterwards a Dr. Reynolds, to go as Ambaſſadors, for the purpoſe of negociating and ſettling the preliminaries for an invaſion of Ireland by a French fleet and army; but that Mr. Tone and Dr. Reynolds, having both declined the embaſſy, the priſoner had entered into a ſecond correſpondence with a Mr. Stone of London, Mr. Chapeaurouge of Hamburgh, another perſon of Amſterdam, and Mr. B. Beresford, at Baſle, in Switzerland, in order by them to convey intelligence circuitouſly to the French convention; and that he had directed the witneſs to copy and addreſs certain letters, to be conveyed thro' the medium of the poſt office in Dublin, to thoſe perſons, by certain marks, under which their real deſign would elude diſcovery: that the witneſs had given information on theſe points to government—and in conſequence of which orders were privately given to the poſt officers to intercept the letters which were before ſtated in the indictment, and which the witneſs proved were conveyed there by the directions of the priſoner.

This teſtimony being corroborated by the evidence of Mr. Dejoncourt, of the poſt office, of Mr. Secretary Hamilton, two King's meſſengers, who proved their having found in the poſſeſſion of William Stone in London a letter forwarded to him, written by the priſoner on the 5th of April, and ſigned Thomas Popkins, which name he aſſumed, and the ſeveral other parts of the charge being fully corroborated, and the priſoner being unable to adduce

any

any witneſs to diſſubſtantiate the facts, or to overturn the evidence of the proſecution, an elaborate charge being given from the bench, the jury retired, after a trial of eighteen hours, and returned a verdict, *guilty*.

Mr. Jackſon was allowed by the court four days to aſſign cauſe why judgment ſhould not paſs on him, at the expiration of which time he was brought up to the court to receive ſentence, but previous to its being pronounced, he ſuddenly expired in the dock, the effect of poiſon, as was generally believed.

On 5th, June, 1795, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant concluded the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech to both houſes.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I am directed by his Majeſty to convey to you his full approbation of your ſervices in the preſent ſeſſion, and to relieve you from further attendance in parliament. —It has afforded me infinite ſatisfaction to obſerve ſince my arrival in this kingdom, the temper and wiſdom with which your proceedings have been uniformly conducted.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I am particularly to expreſs his Majeſty's acknowledgments for the liberal ſupplies, which you have contributed for the ſervice of the empire and the defence of the kingdom with ſuch unanimity and chearfulneſs. —The extent of your grants is a convincing proof how warmly you feel yourſelves intereſted in the vigorous proſecution of a war rendered neceſſary by the wanton and unprovoked attack of France, and involving in it the general cauſe of ſocial order, morality and religion in all civilized countries. On my part, you may be aſſured they ſhall

ſhall be faithfully applied to the great purpoſes for which they were granted."

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" His Majeſty obſerves with the higheſt ſatisfaction, that during the preſent criſis you have not failed to cheriſh and to maintain the various ſources of your internal proſperity. You have alſo completed the intention ſo benevolently entertained of entirely relieving the poorer claſſes from the tax of hearth-money. A wiſe foundation has been laid for educating at home the Roman Catholic clergy. A ſatisfactory arrangement of the treaſury has been confirmed by law; and an alteration of duties has been introduced with a view to prevent the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors, and in the hope of introducing a more general habit of ſobriety amongſt the lower orders of the people. In the execution of theſe meaſures you may depend upon my ſincere and earneſt endeavours to purſue that wiſe and prudent policy by which they were dictated."

" On reparing to your reſpective counties, which I cannot too ſtrongly and too earneſtly recommend, it is eſpecially incumbent upon you to make thoſe exertions which the times demand, and to inculcate the neceſſity of an exact ſubmiſſion to the laws.——By contraſting the bleſſings which reſult from a well regulated liberty and peaceable ſubordination, with the miſchiefs which neceſſarily ſpring from licentiouſneſs and anarchy, you will increaſe the attachment of the people to our free and happy conſtitution. —To preſerve the conſtitution inviolate is the great object of his Majeſty in the preſent conteſt, and he cannot but look to its fortunate iſſue when he reflects on the loyalty, ſpirit and power of his people, and on their juſt ſenſe of the invaluable inheritance for which they contend."

" It

"It will be the conſtant object of my adminiſtration, in which his Majeſty's commands, and my own perſonal wiſhes are moſt intimately combined, to forward with unremitting vigilance, the welfare and the happineſs of this country. Theſe objects I cannot ſo effectually promote as by attending to, and acting upon thoſe eſtabliſhed principles which from the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, on which the ſecurity, the freedom and the proſperity of both kingdoms moſt eſſentially depend."

After which the parliament was prorogued to the 11th day of Auguſt, following.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Proceedings of the insurgents called defenders and peep-of-day boys, in 1795.—*Their origin.*—*Resolutions entered into in Co. Armagh.*—*Speech of Lord Gosford on that occasion.*—*Meeting of parliament in* 1796.—*Lord Lieutenant's speech.*—*Introduction of the insurrection act.*—*Debates thereon.*—*Speech of Sir Laurence Parsons.*—*Like of Dr. Duigenan.*—*Indemnity act.*—*Close of the session.*—*Lord Lieutenant's speech.*—*Prorogation.*

IN 1795 the sects of insurgents called *defenders* became considerably offensive and dangerous: they were chiefly confined to the northern part of the kingdom—and had been in continual opposition to another sect, denominated *peep-of-day boys*.—The latter were Presbyterians, the former Roman Catholics.

The cause of the animosity which subsisted between them, has been differently accounted for.—The writer of a pamphlet under the name of *Veridicus*, attributes it to a quarrel which took place in the fair of Portnorris between two of these sectaries, whose personal enmity soon extended itself to the entire body of each.—The Roman Catholics (said he) assumed the title of *defenders*, because they could not obtain protection from the laws, to which they had recourse after having been worsted by the *peep-of-day's*.—When their passions became inflamed, they proceeded to exercise the most desperate outrage against each other, in the course of which many lives were lost.

The pamphlet we have here quoted, is generally ſuppoſed to be the production of Sir Richard Muſgrave author of the hiſtory of the late rebellion in 1798.——In this laſt mentioned work, the origin of the defenders is ſtated thus.

"As a great conflagration is often kindled by a ſmall ſpark, ſo the feuds and altercations between the peep-of-day boys and defenders, the former Presbyterians, the latter Romaniſts, which occaſioned much ſtrife and bloodſhed, has been aſcribed to a trifling diſpute between two individuals."

"On the fourth of July, 1784, two men of the former perſuaſion had a quarrel and fought near Market-hill, a ſmall town in the county of Armagh, when one of the combatants became victorious, by the advice and aſſiſtance of a Roman Catholic peaſant, and his brother, who happened to be preſent, for which the vanquiſhed hero vowed vengeance againſt the latter."

"A ſecond challenge took place, but the two Romaniſts would not attend the combat, having been informed, that the Presbyterians, who had been defeated, reſolved to be revenged of him and his party."

"At laſt the vanquiſhed Presbyterian publiſhed, that a horſe-race would take place on a certain day at Hamilton's-bawn, where the combatants met and fought a ſecond time; when the conqueror became victorious by the aſſiſtance of ſome Romaniſts who fought on his ſide. Both parties began to raiſe recruits, and to collect arms; but Presbyterians and Papiſts mixed indiſcriminately, and were marked for ſome time by the diſtrict to which they belonged, and not by any religious diſtinction. Each body aſſumed the ſingular appellation of *fleet*, and

was

was denominated from the parish or town-land where the persons who composed it resided."

"The Nappack fleet was at first headed by a Roman Catholic; and the people in the neighbourhood of Bunker's-hill, (in the road from Newry to Armagh,) entered into an association to defend themselves against the Nappack fleet, chose a dissenting minister for their leader, assumed, for the first time, the title of defenders, and were joined soon after by the Bawn fleet, in order to protect themselves against the Nappack fleet. On Whitsunday, in the year 1795, the two parties met, and were to have had a desperate engagement."

"The Nappack fleet, 700 in number, were all armed with guns, sword, and pistols. The Bunker's-hill defenders, and the Bawn fleet, though much more numerous, were not so well armed. When they were on the point of engaging, Mr. Richardson, of Richhill, member for the county of Armagh, and two more gentlemen, interposed, and induced them to separate, which prevented a great effusion of blood."

"From the inveterate hatred which has ever existed between the two sects, they soon began to separate, and to enlist under the banners of religion; and as the Roman Catholics shewed uncommon eagerness to collect arms, the Presbyterians began to disarm them." (b)

Another writer speaks of these disturbances as follows.

"In the beginning of the year 1795, parties of contending rioters, denominated *peep-of-day boys*, and *defenders*, disturbed different parts of the province of Ulster, by acts of violence and outrage against each other. Some say their animosities originated from electioneering.

(b) Musgrave's Mem. Vol. 1.

" tioneering. To theſe ſucceeded in the ſummer of the " ſame year, a deſcription of public diſturbers calling " themſelves *Orange-men*, who now made their firſt ap- " pearance in the Co. of Armagh. Their object appears " to have been, not to ſuffer a Catholic to remain within " the limits of their ſphere of action. They poſted up on " the doors of the Catholics, peremptory notices of de- " parture, ſpecifying the preciſe time, a *week* at the fartheſt, " pretty nearly in the following words. *To hell or to* " *Connaught with you, you bloody Papiſts: and if you are not* " *gone by* (mentioning the day) *we will come and deſtroy your-* " *ſelves and your properties; we hate all Papiſts here.*" ‡

The origin of the *Orange-men*, is thus accounted for by Sir Richard Muſgrave in his hiſtorical work, Vol. I.

" As the defenders not only became terrifick to indivi- duals, in moſt parts of the kingdom, by the conſtant perpetration of nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination; as they formed a ſyſtematic combination, and ſupplied them- ſelves with arms, for the obvious purpoſe of ſubverting the conſtitution in church and ſtate; and as they were encouraged and directed by the Catholic committee, and the united Iriſhmen, the Proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, to defeat their malignant deſigns, found it ne- ceſſary to excite and cheriſh a ſpirit of loyalty, which began to languiſh and decline, in a very alarming degree, and to rally round the altar and the throne, which were in imminent danger."

" The battle of the Diamond, in the county of Armagh, in the month of September, 1795, and the duplicity and treachery of the Romaniſts, on that occaſion, convinced the Proteſtants, that they would become an eaſy prey to their enemies, from the paucity of their numbers, unleſs they

‡ Hayes his. of Inſur. Co. Wexford, p. 38.

they aſſociated for their defence; particularly, as the fanatical vengeance, which they diſplayed on that and other occaſions, convinced the members of the eſtabliſhed church, that they meditated nothing leſs than their total extirpation."

"In commemoration of that victory, the firſt Orange lodge was formed in the county of Armagh, on the twenty-firſt of September, 1795, though the name of orangemen exiſted ſome time before."

"They were merely a ſociety of loyal Proteſtants, aſſociated and bound together, ſolely for the purpoſe of maintaining and defending the conſtitution in church and ſtate, as eſtabliſhed by the Prince of Orange, at the glorious Revolution, which they regarded as a ſolemn and ſacred duty."

Thus far Sir Richard:—and between ſuch oppoſite repreſentations as we have juſt now ſtated, we can only regret that religious differences ſhould produce ſuch confuſion and miſery amongſt mankind. If we may however judge on this ſubject from the following public proceedings which took place in the Co. Armagh, 21 December, 1795; there appeared *ſome* proof at leaſt that the Roman Catholics were not treated at this time with much humanity or liberty by thoſe of the contrary perſuaſion.

ARMAGH, December, 21, 1795.

AT a numerous meeting of the magiſtrates of the county of Armagh, convened this day at the ſpecial inſtance of Lord Viſcount GOSFORD, Governor.

His Lordſhip having taken the Chair, opened the buſineſs of the meeting by the following addreſs:

GENTLEMEN

"GENTLEMEN."

"Having requeſted your attendance here this day, it becomes my duty to ſtate the grounds upon which I thought it adviſable to propoſe this Meeting, and at the ſame time to ſubmit to your conſideration a plan, which occurs to me, as moſt likely to check the enormities that have already brought diſgrace upon the County, and may ſoon reduce it into deep diſtreſs."

"It is no ſecret that a perſecution, accompanied with all the circumſtances of ferocious cruelty, which have in all ages diſtinguiſhed the dreadful calamity, is now raging in this County. Neither age nor ſex, nor even acknowledged innocence as to any guilt in the late diſturbances, is ſufficient to excite mercy, much leſs to afford protection."

"The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthleſs perſecution are charged with, is a crime indeed of eaſy proof; it is ſimply a profeſſion of the Roman Catholic Faith, or an intimate connexion with a perſon profeſſing that Faith. A lawleſs Banditti have conſtituted themſelves judges of this new ſpecies of delinquency, and the ſentence they have pronounced is equally conciſe and terrible—'tis nothing leſs than a Confiſcation of all property, and an immediate baniſhment."

"It would be extremely painful, and ſurely unneceſſary, to detail the horrors that attend the execution of ſo wide and tremendous a proſcription—a proſcription, that certainly exceeds in the comparative number of thoſe it conſigns to ruin and miſery, every example that antient or modern hiſtory can ſupply; for, where have we heard, or in what ſtory of human cruelties have we read, of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country deprived at one blow of the means, as well as of the fruits of their induſtry, and driven, in the midſt of an inclement ſeaſon,

to

to ſeek a ſhelter for themſelves and their helpleſs families where chance may guide them?"

"This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid ſcenes now acting in this County; yet, ſurely it is ſufficient to awaken ſentiments of indignation and compaſſion in the coldeſt boſom;—Theſe horrrors, I ſay, are now acting, and acting with impunity—The ſpirit of impartial juſtice (without which Law is nothing better than an inſtrument of tyranny) has for a time diſappeared in this county, and the ſupineneſs of the magiſtracy of Armagh is become a common topic of converſation in every corner of the kingdom."

"It is ſaid in reply, the Roman Catholics are dangerous—they may be ſo—they may be dangerous from their numbers, and ſtill more dangerous from the undoubted views they have been encouraged to entertain; but I will venture to aſſert, (without fear of contradiction), that upon thoſe very grounds, theſe terrible proceedings are not more contrary to humanity, than they are to found pollicy."

"It is to be lamented, that no civil magiſtrate happened to be preſent with the military detachment on the night of the 21ſt inſtant; but I truſt the ſuddenneſs of the occaſion, the unexpected and inſtantaneous aggreſſion on the part of the delinquents, will be univerſally admitted as a full vindication of the conduct of the officer and the party under his command."

"Gentlemen, I have the honor to hold a ſituation in this county, which calls upon me to deliver my ſentiments, and I do ſo without fear and without diſguiſe.

I am as true a Proteſtant as any Gentleman in this room, or in this kingdom; I inherit a property which my family derived under a Proteſtant title, and with the bleſſing of God,

God I will maintain that title to the utmoſt of my power; I will never conſent to make a ſacrifice of Proteſtant aſcendancy to Catholic claims, with whatever menaces they may be urged, or however ſpeciouſly or inſidiouſly ſupported."

"Conſcious of my ſincerity in this public declaration, which I do not make unadviſedly, but as the reſult of mature deliberation, I defy the paltry inſinuations that malice or party ſpirit may ſuggeſt."

"I know my own heart, and I ſhould deſpiſe myſelf, if under any intimidation, I could cloſe my eyes againſt ſuch ſcenes as preſent themſelves on every ſide, or ſhut my ears againſt the complaints of a perſecuted people."

"I ſhould be guilty of an unpardonable injuſtice to the feelings of Gentlemen here preſent, were I to ſay more on this ſubject: I have now acquitted myſelf to my conſcience and my Country, and take the liberty of propoſing the following Reſolutions:—"

I. "That it appears to this meeting, that the county of Armagh is at this moment in a ſtate of uncommon diſorder; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievouſly oppreſſed by lawleſs perſons unknown, who attack and plunder their houſes by night, and threaten them with inſtant deſtruction unleſs they immediately abandon their lands and habitations."

II. "That a committee of magiſtrates be appointed to ſit on Tueſdays and Saturdays in the Chapter Room in the town of Armagh, to receive informations reſpecting all perſons of whatever deſcription who diſturb the peace of this County."

III. "That the inſtructions of the whole body of the magiſtracy to their Committe ſhall be, to uſe every legal means

means within their power to ſtop the progreſs of the perſecution now carrying on by an ungovernable mob, againſt the Roman Catholic inhabitants of this county."

IV. "That ſaid Committee, or any three of them, be empowered to expend any Sum or Sums of Money for Informations or ſecret Service, out of the Fund ſubſcribed by the Gentlemen of this County."

V. "That a meeting of the whole body of the magiſtracy be held every ſecond Monday, at the houſe of Mr, Charles Mc. Reynolds, in the town of Armagh, to hear the reports of the Committee; and to give ſuch further Inſtructions as the exigencies of the times may require."

VI. "That offenders of every deſcription in the preſent diſturbances ſhall be proſecuted out of the Fund ſubſcribed by the gentlemen of this county:—And to carry this reſolution into effect, be it alſo reſolved, That Mr. ARTHUR IRWIN be appointed law agent to the magiſtracy."

The above Reſolutions having been read, were unanimouſly agreed to, and the Committee nominated.

Parliament aſſembled 21ſt of January 1796, when his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant made the following ſpeech to both houſes.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have received his Majeſty's Commands to meet you in Parliament."

"It gives me the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction to be authoriſed to inform you, that notwithſtanding the advantages which the enemy poſſeſſed at the commencement of the laſt year, and the ſucceſſes which attended their operations in the former parts of the campaign, the general ſituation of affairs is on the whole moſt eſſentially improved."

"The

"The continued and brilliant ſucceſs of the Auſtrian Armies upon the Rhine, the important captures of the Cape of Good Hope and Trincomale by his Majeſty's forces, and the decided and confirmed ſuperiority of his fleets, are circumſtances of the utmoſt importance to the common cauſe, and their effect is heightened by the internal diſtreſſes, the ruined commerce, and increaſing financial embarraſſments of the enemy.

"The criſis lately depending in France, has led to an order of things in that country, ſuch as will induce his Majeſty to meet any diſpoſition to negociation on the part of the enemy, with an earneſt deſire to give it the fulleſt and ſpeedieſt effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace, when it may be effected on juſt and ſuitable terms for himſelf and his allies.

"The treaty of commerce between his Majeſty and the United States of America, having been mutually ratified, I have ordered copies of it, by his Majeſty's command, to be laid before you.

"I have the pleaſure to announce to you, that her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales, has been happily delivered of a Princeſs; an event which, by giving additional ſtability to his Majeſty's auguſt houſe, cannot fail to afford you the higheſt ſatisfaction.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I obſerve with the ſincereſt pleaſure, that notwithſtanding the continued preſſure of the war, the commerce and revenues of this kingdom have not in any degree fallen from that flouriſhing ſtate of advancement, which in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament was a ſubject of ſuch juſt congratulation. This circumſtance affords a deciſive proof, that your proſperity is founded on a ſolid baſis, and leads me to indulge the flattering hope, that whatever additional burdens

burdens you may find it neceſſary to impoſe, will not be materially felt by the people.

"I have ordered the public accounts and eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you, and have no doubt of your readineſs to provide ſuch ſupplies as a due ſenſe of the exigencies of the kingdom ſhall ſuggeſt, and the wiſe policy of ſtrengthening his Majeſty's exertions for procuring a ſolid and permanent peace ſhall appear to render neceſſary.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"It is with regret that I feel myſelf obliged to advert to thoſe ſecret and treaſonable aſſociations, the dangerous extent and malignity of which have, in ſome degree, been diſcloſed in ſeveral trials; and to the diſturbances which have taken place in ſome parts of the kindom. It has at the ſame time, been a ſource of great ſatisfaction to me to obſerve the ſucceſsful and meritorious exertions of the magiſtrates in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and the alacrity which his Majeſty's regular and militia forces have univerſally manifeſted in aid of the civil power, whenever they have been called upon for the preſervation of the peace and ſupport of the laws. It remains for your prudence and wiſdom to deviſe ſuch meaſures as, together with the continuance of thoſe exertions, and with the additional power, which by the advice of the Privy Council, I have thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh in different counties, will prevent the return of ſimilar exceſſes, and reſtore a proper reverence for the laws of the country.

"The ſuperior and increaſing importance of the agriculture and manufactures, and particularly of the linen manufacture of the kingdom, will command your accuſtomed ſupport: Under the preſent ſituation of Europe, you cannot fail to attend with peculiar vigilance to the general

general ſtate of proviſions, and if circumſtances ſhall at any time render your interpoſition adviſeable, I have no doubt of your adopting ſuch meaſures as ſhall beſt apply to the exiſting neceſſity of the times.

"I am alſo deſirous of pointing your attention to the Proteſtant Charter Schools, and other inſtitutions of public charity and improvement.

"Your unanimity and zeal can never be of more importance than at the preſent criſis, in order to impreſs the enemy with a thorough conviction of the reſources of his Majeſty's kingdom, and to procure a favourable termination to your honourable efforts. His Majeſty has the fulleſt reliance on your firmneſs and attachment, and on the fortitude, ſpirit, and perſeverance of his people."

"It will be my ambition, as it is my duty, to repreſent your zeal in his Majeſty's ſervice; and it will be my perſonal and moſt anxious wiſh to co-operate with your efforts in the common cauſe in which we are all equally engaged and intereſted, and my utmoſt endeavours ſhall be uſed to ſecure the happineſs and proſperity of this kingdom, and to protect and maintain its moſt excellent conſtitution."

In conſequence of the diſturbed ſtate of the country, as alluded to in the foregoing ſpeech—a bill was introduced early in this ſeſſion, called the "*Inſurrection Bill*;"—this occaſioned conſiderable debate; the ſituation of the country was fully diſcuſſed, matters were differently repreſented, but upon the whole, the act was paſed. We ſhall here notice the following arguments, which were offered on each ſide of the queſtion.

On the ſecond reading of the bill, Sir Laurence Parſons ſaid, he had from the beginning of the ſeſſion avoided any thing

thing like oppoſition to government as much as poſſible. he ſaw that it was the deſire of the independent gentlemen of Ireland to ſupport that government, and he had yielded his own opinion to theirs; but upon the preſent occaſion he could not avoid candidly ſpeaking what he thought to be the real ſtate of the country.—It ſhould be the object of parliament to tranquillize the country, and that ſhould be done by ſome meaſure likely to produce permanent tranquillity, and in order to deviſe ſuch a meaſure, gentlemen ſhould come to the cauſe and root of the evil.—No man could deny that the people of the country were now in a better ſtate than formerly; he was ſure they were much improved, but ſtill the ſituation of the majority of the people was very wretched, owing to ſome radical faults in the ſituation of the country, not owing to the preſent day or preſent adminiſtration. No man who compared the poor man's ſituation with the affluence he and other gentlemen enjoyed from the accident of birth, did not commiſerate the lot of the poor. Gentlemen ought, when they enacted ſevere penal laws, not by tales of atrocity to enflame their minds againſt the lower orders, but they ſhould ſoften their minds and mitigate their feelings, by conſidering the true ſtate of the poor. He was ſure a ſtrong diſpoſition to humanity exiſted in the minds of the gentlemen of the country; he needed not to call upon their paſſions to rouſe it; but he intreated them at this moment, to make allowance and excuſe for the enormities which certainly exiſted; to conſider what their own feelings would be in a ſimilar ſituation. The Iriſh peaſant, miſerably poor as he is, might perhaps be exceeded by the poverty of the Laplander; but his caſe differed from the Laplander in this, that, though poorly fed, wretchedly clad, and miſerably houſed, the Laplander ſaw around him an equality of miſery; the Iriſh peaſant looked forth from his hovel, and was mocked by a magnificent palace; One ſad conſequence of his poverty was a total want of education;

edueation; this laid him open an eaſy prey to the artifices of malignant emiſſaries, and prepared his mind for their impreſſions; his poverty perſuaded him that he was unfairly dealt with, and his want of education diſabled him from being convinced to the contrary. No man (ſaid Sir Laurence) reprobates more than I do the miſchievous, fooliſh, and impracticable doctrine, *Equality*, which has of late been propagated; yet, I fear it would be difficult for the ableſt man among you to juſtify the extraordinary inequality which prevails in this country; and if it is difficult for learning and reaſon, how much more difficult muſt it be for the unfortunate and uneducated ſufferer to convince himſelf of its propriety? And when I call upon you to mitigate your feelings upon this ſubject, I muſt ſay, that I do not apply to the right honourable mover of this bill; from firſt to laſt, in all theſe proceedings, his conduct has been commended by every man—I do not impute any harſhneſs to his mind; I am ſure it is foreign to his heart; but I would recommend to gentlemen in making, or in executing the laws, to take in their conſideration the wretched ſituation of the peaſantry: To think that in many parts of Europe, even the better orders have been ſet wild by the ſtrange chimeras and mad doctrines of French *liberty*; it is hardly poſſible to ſuppoſe that they would riſe in ſo abſurd and ſo fooliſh a ſpecies of inſurrection, if they did not either feel themſelves ſeverely aggrieved, or were not deluded by artful and deſigning men. In either caſe their ſituation is deplorable, and deſerves your compaſſion.—As to the law itſelf, in its operation, it goes only to the poor—it draws an unfair diſtinction; the country gentlemen, I am ſure, look no further in ſupporting it, than to preſerve the public tranquillity; I am ſure they have made no ſuch compact with government, as ſaying, we will be ſlaves to you, if you will let us be tyrants over the poor; their deſire is only to preſerve the public peace; what is the beſt mode of doing

doing ſo, and what will make it permanent? You ſhould firſt ſatisfy the people that they are juſtly dealt with; you will not do this by tranſporting them without a form of trial; their friends and relations will go round the country with their inflammatory tale; they will proclaim the innocence of the ſufferer, and can you contradict them? You cannot, for you have not given him a fair trial. In no country in the world, is the tale of grievance ſo quickly circulated as in this. I will give you an inſtance:—In the laſt war a regiment was raiſed, called the Green Linnets, it was ſaid, under a compact to ſerve only in this country; no ſooner were they raiſed, than they were tied and manacled, and ſent abroad. When we came to raiſe our Militia in the ſeveral counties, we found this ſtory in every mouth; whether it was true or falſe, I know not. I do not ſay that innocent men have been tranſported—but I will ſay, that thoſe tales are very miſchievous, and that you ſhould endeavour to ſatisfy the people that they are fairly dealt with.—In Mr. Young's tour through this country, juſt after the Whiteboy inſurrection, he obſerves, that although the country had been a long time diſturbed, yet it was not until the gentlemen aſſociated together, (not by the enaction of violent laws) that the country was quieted. In Limerick, in the year 1793, the ſame thing happened; and though no greater puniſhment than public whipping was inflicted, yet by ſuch aſſociation every trace of diſturbance was quelled; and the gentleman whom I have the honour to addreſs can teſtify the ſame circumſtance of the county of Louth. To quiet the country, is a taſk in my mind not ſo impracticable as people think; I would ſuggeſt a few ſalutary meaſures;—Encreaſing the number of conſtables, paying them liberally, and almoſt *bribing* them to exertion, would have a good effect; giving ſums of money to perſons who could be confided to, (who would not job it away) in order to be diſtributed for private information, would go a great way in anſwering our purpoſes.

As

As to making the examination of a murdered witneſs evidence, I do not diſſent from it; I think it fair and reaſonable. I would alſo give compleat protection to witneſſes, and if they incurred danger by ſtaying in the country, I would allow them a ſtipend to ſupport them elſewhere. The murder of witneſſes is far from a new offence in this country: about four years ago, three perſons were murdered in ſucceſſion in the county Tipperary; the firſt was a witneſs—the ſecond a witneſs of his murder—and the third a witneſs of the ſecond murder; ſo that it is not a new crime. About ten years ago, another witneſs was waked in his own houſe, and his head cut off by a gang of ruffians; theſe were one of them *defenders*: Another witneſs who had proſecuted perſons at Philipſtown, was ſent to Maryborough to proſecute others, and was poiſoned in the gaol of Maryborough. I cannot approve of the powers given to magiſtrates of tranſporting men without the intervention of Juries. I can ſee no inconvenience in adhering to the ancient conſtitution; juries have not been backward in convicting; the judges who have gone into the diſturbed counties will tell you ſo. He then read a long paſſage from Blackſtone, upon the preſervation of perſonal liberty, book, 1. c. 1. p. 135. He declared that when the bill went into committee (for he did not mean to oppoſe the ſecond reading) he would propoſe the impannelling a jury as an amendment in all the caſes ſpecified in the bill. He then aſked, is this bill to give any redreſs to the Catholics of Armagh? you give to the very magiſtrates of whom they complain, (for it has been ſworn that Catholics have been refuſed the common juſtice of taking their examinations, and threatened with baniſhment by the magiſtrates of that county)—you give to theſe very magiſtrates new, aggravated, and enormous powers. I do not attribute to government, or the right hon mover any ſuch deſign; but, it ſhould ſeem that in applying what is ſuppoſed to be a healing

a healing measure for the rest of Ireland, a caustic has been poured into the wounds of the Armagh Catholics; the Armagh magistrates have expelled them from their estates —this bill expells them from the kingdom. Other parts of the bill it will be more regular to object to in the committee; but one subject he would mention before he sat down. Multitudes of the peasantry, liable from their offences to capital punishment, wander through the country: If you wish to restore tranquillity to the country, you will pass a clause of indemnity in this bill to those who have not committed murder, or very atrocious crimes; for how can you restore tranquillity, when men in despair must continue their crimes, or yield themselves up to die; must either resist the laws or quit their country, and contaminate their neighbours? I would therefore propose that persons coming in and registering themselves within a certain time, should be indemnified against their offences, if they took the oath of allegiance, and gave security for their good behaviour. Engaged as we are in a war—of which no man can guess the event—in the course of which we may be obliged to call upon these very people for assistance, if the legislature proves itself temperate and benignant to them, it may depend upon their true fidelity.

Dr. Duigenan on the other side of the argument, supported the bill. He began his speech by making some observations on the conduct of those who had opposed this measure.—"After voting for the resolutions upon which it is founded, they come forward (said he) this night with all their hopes and rhetoric—their appeals to God— their imploring of the house—and such frippery as they made use of upon every occasion, trivial or important, when they opposed any measure brought forward. They had each set out with stating that they did not intend to oppose the bill; and yet in the course of the debate the whole phalanx had come in with all their force of assertion, against it.

It was not a little ridiculous to obſerve how theſe gentlemen invariably praiſed each other: each was the greateſt orator in the world—if the other was to be believed. To come to the objections which had been made: one hon. member could not help ſaying, that it was reaſonable to make the examinations of a murdered man evidence, yet he did not think it expedient to enact a law againſt it.—This put him in mind, he ſaid, of the ſheep-ſtealer's excuſe, "My father and my grand-father uſed to ſteal ſheep, and were never hanged, and its very hard that I ſhould ſuffer for doing the ſame."

"Theſe gentlemen had prevailed upon a nobleman lately in the government of this country to write or ſign two letters, ſaying, that his removal from the government would induce a certainty of rebellion. Their conduct upon that occaſion, and ſince, proved them to act like the quacks mentioned by Swift, who, if they ſaw any thing malignant in the diſorder, were ſure to prognoſtigate their patients death; but if any unlucky ſymptom of convaleſcence appeared to fruſtrate their prediction, they knew very well how to adminiſter a ſeaſonable doſe to preſerve their character: ſo theſe gentlemen having failed in their prediction, held on every ſpecies of irritation to the people in every ſpeech they made, in order if poſſible, to verify their prophecy. A great outcry was made that the trial by jury was taken from the poor *defenders*; that Magna Charta, and a variety of other laws, were violated; the conſtitution invaded:—theſe gentlemen had not always thought ſo well of Magna Charta; but he would examine the force of their objections. The bill enacted, that it ſhould be lawful for ſeven juſtices convened by public notice, or the majority of them, to memorial the Lord Lieutenant; the minority might alſo make a repreſentation of their diſſent. If the Lord Lieutenant thought proper—not martial law, but the very mildeſt ſyſtem of reſtraint was to be proclaimed

claimed through the disturbed country—after such a proclamation, every person out of his house in the night was to be taken up. Every one knew that the *defenders* murdered and plundered by night; so that restraining men to their houses was the most effectual mode of preventing, and nothing could be more reasonable than to suppose that persons wandering after such proclamation should be suspected: and in order to prevent the magistrates from abusing this power, an action was given against any magistrate who acted from improper motives.—A gentleman had asked why not rather let the grand jury represent the situation of the county rather than magistrates?—That gentleman knew very well that in the greater part of the year no grand jury existed, and while it was waited for: the county might be destroyed. A special commission might, indeed, be issued, to create a grand jury;—but how could government be acquainted with the necessity of such a commission, until some representation had been made of the situation of the country?"

"Gentlemen had indulged themselves in making reflections upon magistrates; but he knew that the magistrates of Ireland were in general the men of the first fortune and regulation; and he thought it unfair to state that magistrates had refused to do justice, without stating that they were punishable for their conduct in the Court of King's Bench, in the most summary way; and that in the instance alluded to, the magistrates had, by affidavit, denied the charge, and that the business was now in a train of trial."

Inflammation was the sole purpose of the harangues which had been made that night; the Roman Catholics had been introduced for no other purpose; yet the last learned gentleman had *implored* to know why Catholic or Protestant was mentioned? for his part he knew not; but he would refer that gentleman to his own friend, the hon. baronet, who had introduced the subject without the least necessity."

"In Connaught four counties—Roſcommon, Mayo, Sligo, and Leitrim, had been diſturbed;—in Leinſter and Ulſter, Meath, Weſtmeath, Louth, Longford, Dublin, Cavan, &c. &c. were diſturbed; in all theſe counties, making one-third of the kingdom, not an offender was to be found who was not a Roman Catholic. Armagh was the ſmalleſt county in the kingdom. ſave Louth, and in one notice of that county a grievous diſſenſion had taken place between the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants in laſt September. The Roman Catholics had been the aggreſſors, the Proteſtants however had got the better, and had committed outrages, they certainly well deſerved to be ſuppreſſed; but why was a diſturbance occaſioned by a very few people in a ſmall part of a county, which was itſelf not a ſixteenth part of the kingdom mentioned with ſuch horror, and a rebellion which agitated one-third of the county overlooked? Merely to prove the wiſdom of Lord Fitzwilliam in ſuppreſſing the Proteſtant intereſt, to advance that of the Roman Catholic.—The Roman Catholic committee had been mentioned: to prove the controul that committee had over theſe people, he would only ſay, that in the laſt year the committee of Nine had iſſued an order for a petition to parliament, which order had been obeyed, and their petition literally copied in the ſame words and preſented to parliament, by the Catholics of every pariſh in the kingdom. On the 9th of March laſt they acted as repreſentatives for the whole body, and their ſpeeches in Francis-ſtreet Chapel had breathed nothing but republicaniſm, ſeparation from England, and every ſentiment that could inflame their conſtituents to perſevere in rebellion; yet, theſe things paſſed unnoticed, and a paltry ſquabble in a diſtant corner of the kingdom was made the ſubject of parliamentary declamation, and dwelt upon without any manner of occaſion, for the bill equally ſuppreſſed thoſe outrages with all others.—But the truth was, that this ſubject had been introduced on a former night,

when

when thoſe Gentlemen were not ſo well prepared in their ſpeeches; and it was brought forward to-night to ſhew their powers, though the queſtion of Proteſtant or Papiſt had nothing in the world to ſay in the bill.—The Iriſh peaſantry had been compared to the Popiſh and Spaniſh peaſantry by one Member: This put him in mind of a *conciliatory* ſpeech of the ſame member, in which he ſaid, that the Iriſh peaſantry only differed from the Negro in not being black and woollyheaded. But theſe ſpeeches were not intended merely for parliament; theſe Gentlemen well knew, that theſe very ſpeeches were taken down in the gallery, and would to-morrow or next day be publiſhed in the ſeditious papers—the Evening Poſt or Saunders's News Letter, to prove to the people what they did not feel—that they were very miſerable.—This bill, they ſaid, was not a remedy; but would have a contrary effect; and in order to prove the truth of what they ſay, they call upon the phyſical ſtrength of the country, or, in plain Engliſh, upon the mob, to riſe and refuſe to ſubmit to its operation: Their exhortation would he hoped have as little effect, as their prediction had truth---If this law ſhould be found to have a bad effect, the wiſdom of it's introducer had limited it's duration, and it might be repealed or ſuffered to expire in the next year. His opinion was, that it would be of the moſt beneficial conſequence to the country."

The outrages which have been already noticed, induced ſome perſons in their endeavours to ſuppreſs them, to exceed their authority in many inſtances, and to venture a ſtep or two beyond the boundary of the Law and the Conſtitution.---To protect them from future diſagreeable conſequences, which might ariſe, were they left open to the ordinary courſe of juſtice, an act was alſo paſſed this ſeſſion, intitled "*an act for indemnifying ſuch perſons as have ſince the 1ſt day of June*, 1795, *for the preſervation of the public*

public peace, and ſuppreſſion of inſurrections prevailing in ſome parts of this kingdom."

It may well be queſtioned how far the moſt urgent neceſſity can juſtify the violation of thoſe principles which the Law and the Government of a country have eſtabliſhed for the preſervation of national freedom and juſtice: many arguments were offered againſt paſſing this act; and certainly nothing but the omnipotence of parliament could ſanctify it.

On the 15th of April, 1796, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant cloſed the ſeſſions with the following ſpeech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"In releaſing you from further attendance in parliament, I am peculiarly commanded by his Majeſty to thank you for that conſpicuous zeal and unanimity, (ſo honourable to yourſelves, and ſo impreſſive on our enemies,) which have marked your conduct through the whole ſeſſion, in promoting, by your energy and temper, the intereſts of your country, and in ſupporting, by your ſpirit and liberality, the common cauſe of the empire."

"His Majeſty has taken the ſteps, which appeared moſt proper, for ſetting on foot a negociation for general peace, if the enemy ſhould be diſpoſed to enter into ſuch a negociation, on grounds conſiſtent with the ſafety, honour, and intereſt of his Majeſty's kingdoms, and all his allies."

"If his Majeſty's views in this reſpect, ſhould fail, he has no doubt that the valour of his ſubjects, the reſources of his kingdom, and the exertions of the powers engaged with him, will ultimately produce this deſirable end."

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I am to thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the chearfulneſs

chearfulneſs and liberality with which you have provided for the current ſervices of the year; and it affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction to reflect, that theſe objects have been attended by burthens ſo judiciouſly impoſed, that they can ſcarcely affect the lower orders of the people. It is equally ſatisfactory to obſerve, that your ſtrength and proſperity remain undiminiſhed, notwithſtanding, the preſſure of the War; and it will be my endeavour to cheriſh your reſources, and apply your liberality with œconomy and prudence."

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The enquiries I had ordered to be made with regard to the produce of the laſt harveſt, and the meaſures taken by you to prevent the export of grain, muſt relieve the public mind, from an apprehenſion of ſcarcity. If any illicit means ſhould be attempted to evade the proviſions of the laws which have been enacted upon this important ſubject, I ſhall be attentive in exerciſing thoſe powers with which I am entruſted."

"The vigorous meaſures you have adopted for the ſuppreſſion of inſurrection and outrage, and the wiſe proviſions you have made for preventing the extenſion of ſimilar offences, muſt have the moſt ſalutary effects."

"The new regulation of licenſes, under the ſuperintendance of magiſtrates, will tend to promote tranquillity and ſobriety. The eſtabliſhment of more frequent ſeſſions of the peace will afford an eaſy and expeditious adminiſtration of juſtice in the different diſtricts throughout the kingdom. The liberal increaſe of the ſalaries of the judges, and the alteration of the civil bill juriſdiction for the convenience of the lower ranks of the people, will enſure the conſtant and regular attention of his Majeſty's judges to the civil and criminal buſineſs that will remain to be done on the circuits."

"These measures cannot but demonstrate to the people at large, the firmness, and the temper of parliament, which, whilst it is determined to repress the excesses of licentiousness and outrage, is at the same time anxious to ensure to the country those permanent advantages of society, peace, and good order, which are to be derived from a prompt and upright administration of justice."

"I cannot too strongly recommend it to you, to give effect to these benefits by your example and presence: and I am confident, that when you are relieved from your duty in parliament, all ranks and descriptions of his Majesty's faithful subjects will feel themselves protected by your exertions and authority in your different counties."

"Your kind declarations in favour of my administration, make the deepest impression upon my feelings; if I have any claim to your confidence and good opinion, it arises from the fidelity with which I have represented to his Majesty your loyalty and zeal, and from the sincere desire I feel to conform my conduct to your sentiments. Great Britain and Ireland form one empire—they are inseparably connected—they must stand or fall together; and we are all equally engaged, because we are all equally interested in the common cause of defending and upholding our religion, our laws, and our constitution."

After which the parliament was prorogued to the 14th June following.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Diſturbances in Co. Armagh.—Proclamation.—Addreſs of the grand jury and magiſtrates of the Co. Armagh to the Lord Lieutenant.—Reſolution of the inhabitants of the pariſhes of Drumcree and Sego.—Appearance of a French fleet near Bantry.—Secretary Pelham's letter to the Lord Mayor of Dublin.—Diſperſion of the French fleet.—Reſolution of Proteſtants and Roman Catholics of the Co. Down.—Meſſage to his Majeſty communicated to parliament.—State of public credit.—Proceedings of the bankers and merchants of Dublin.—Proclamation relative to bank payments.—Public notice from the bank of Ireland on the ſtoppage of caſh payments.—Letter from Mr. Pelham to Gen. Lake.—Mr. Grattan's obſervations thereon.—Diſturbances in Armagh.—addreſs of the Roman Catholics to their perſecuted brethren.---Meeting of freeholders and citizens of Dublin.---their proceedings and addreſs to his Majeſty.---Proclamation againſt United Iriſhmen, &c. Concluſion of the Seſſion.

THO' the inſurrection act, was a law of ſome ſeverity, it did not tranquillize the country, the county of Armagh particularly continued to be much diſturbed, and ſome part of it, were, according to the operation of that act, publicly proclaimed to be in a ſtate of diſturbance,—The following proclamation will ſhew in ſome degree the nature of the act, and the mode of proceeding under it.

LORD LIEUTENANT and COUNCIL OF IRELAND, A PROCLAMATION.

CAMDEN,

"Whereas, by an act of parliament paſſed in this kingdom, in the thirty-ſixth year of his Majeſty's reign entitled, "An act more effectually to ſuppreſs inſurrection, and

and to prevent the disturbance of the public peace," it is enacted, that it shall be lawful for the justices of the peace of any county, assembled at a special session in manner by the said act directed, not being fewer than seven, or the major part of them, one of whom to be of the quorum, if they see fit, upon due consideration of the state of the county, to signify by memorial, by them signed, to the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this Kingdom, that they consider their county, or any part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance or in immediate danger of becoming so, and praying that the Lord Lieutenant and council may proclaim such county, or part thereof, to be in a state of disturbance, thereupon it shall be lawful for the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors of this kingdom, by and with the advice of his Majesty's privy council, by proclamation, to declare such county, or any part of such county, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, and also such parts of any adjoining county or counties as such chief governor or governors shall think fit, in order to prevent the continuance or extension of such disturbance."

"And whereas eighteen justices of the peace of the county of Armagh, (several of them being of the quorum) being the major part of the justices of the peace duly assembled, pursuant to the said act, at a special session of the peace holden at Armagh, in the said county, on Tuesday the 29th day of November last past, have, by memorial by them signed, signified to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that certain parts of the said county are in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so, and have thereby prayed that the Lord Lieutenant and council may proclaim the following districts in the said county, to be in a state of disturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming so; that is to say, that part of the parish of Newry,

Newry, lying in the barony of Onealand Weſt, in ſaid county; and alſo that part of the pariſh of Armagh, ſituate and lying in the ſaid barony of Onealand Weſt, in ſaid county."

"Now we the Lord Lieutenant do, by and with the advice of his Majeſty's privy council, in purſuance of and by the authority to us given by the ſaid act of parliament, by this our proclamation declare, that part of the pariſh of Newry, and alſo that part of the pariſh of Armagh, which are ſituate and lying in the ſaid barony of Onealand Weſt, and county of Armagh aforeſaid, to be in a ſtate of diſturbance, or in immediate danger of becoming ſo; of which all juſtices of the peace and other magiſtrates and peace officers of the ſaid county, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice."

Council-chamber, Dublin, 2d Dec. 1796.

W. Armagh. Clare, C. Carhampton. Clonmel. Ely. Dillon. Donoughmore. Yelverton. Cha. Fitzgerald. T. Pelham. A. Wolfe. James Fitzgerald. D. Latouche. S. Hamilton. Lodge Morres.

The following addreſs was preſented to the Ld. Lieuteuant.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN-JEFFREYS, EARL CAMDEN,

LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND, &c. &c.

The unanimous addreſs of the *ſheriff, governor, grand jury* and *Magiſtrates* of the county, of Armagh, aſſembled at lent aſſizes, 1796.

"Deeply impreſſed with the attention which your Excellency has been pleaſed to ſhew to this county, and ſenſible of the readineſs with which military aid has been afforded, whenever it has been required, on occaſion of the

the diſturbances that in ſome places have unfortunately prevailed, we return your Excellency our warmeſt acknowledgments, and beg leave to expreſs the firmeſt confidence in the wiſdom and energy of your Excellency's government."

"We have ſeen with the deepeſt regret the outrages which for ſome time paſt have diſturbed the peace, and interrupted the induſtry of this proſperous county; and as the grand jury of the county have always diſcharged their duty with that rigorous and impartial juſtice, which is calculated to protect the perſon and the property of all its inhabitants of every deſcription, ſo we ſhall continue to uſe our utmoſt exertions to puniſh offenders of every denomination."

"We truſt that the peace of the county will, in conſequence of the proceedings at this aſſizes, be reſtored univerſally; but ſhould that unfortunately not be the caſe, we beg leave to aſſure your Excellency, that we muſt feel it to be our duty, and the duty of all the other magiſtrates of the county, to reſort to immediate proceedings under the law of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, however much we muſt lament the unuſual rigour which it will impoſe upon offenders, and however much we muſt deplore the burthens as well as the diſgrace which ſuch meaſures muſt neceſſarily impoſe upon the county."

JOHN OGLE, Sheriff.
GOSFORD, governor,
CAULFEILD, foreman, for ſelf, &c.

The reader may be enabled farther to judge, in what ſituation the Co. Armagh then was, from the following publication, which appeared at the time of the before mentioned proclamation.

"We,

"We, the principal inhabitants of Drumcree and Sego, parishes in the county of Armagh, observing with great concern, that much pains have lately been taken in many parts of this country, merely to excite discontent among his Majesty's faithful subjects, and to alienate their affections from his person and government, with a view to introduce that system of anarchy and confusion which is now spreading desolation over other parts of Europe, and having reason also to believe, that some of these deluded people hold treasonable correspondence with his Majesty's avowed enemies (the French) for the unnatural purpose of injuring this their native land; Now we, whose names are hereunto annexed, being determined to support our King and constitution; (sensible of the many blessings and advantages we derive from both, which are evident from the present very prosperous state of our country, where wealth and comfort are the constant concontitants of honesty and industry; and holding in apparrence the machinations of desperate adventurers, who, without property themselves, aim at that of others, hoping to procure wealth and consequence in a general confusion;")

"Resolve therefore, That we will at the hazzard of our lives and fortunes, support and defend our gracious King George the Third, against all foreign and domestic enemies."

"That we will discourage and oppose all treasonable and seditious practices, and resist all attempts to disturb the peace of this country."

"And further, in case of invasion or insurrection (should his Majesty in his wisdom require such exertion), that we will embody ourselves for his defence, and the protection of our country; and all of us, or as many of us as he shall think proper to call upon, will enrol ourselves under such officers as he may commission; and with their assistance,

tance, and under their command, will train and diſcipline ourſelves, ſo as to be able to render him the more effectual ſervice, and fruſtrate the hopes of theſe traitors and banditti, who vainly rely upon finding the country naked and defenceleſs, ſhould their regular troops be drawn off to oppoſe an invading enemy."

At length the French actually made their appearance, and the following letter was written by the ſecretary of ſtate to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, ſtating the circumſtance.

"*My Lord,*

"The laſt accounts from *Gen. Dalrymple* are by his Aid-de-Camp, *Captain Gordon*, who left Bantry at ten o'clock on Tueſday, A. M. and arrived here this morning. Seventeen ſail of French ſhips were at that time at anchor on the lower part of Bear Iſland, but at ſuch a diſtance that their force could not be aſcertained.—A Lieutenant of a French frigate was driven on ſhore in his boat, in attempting to go from his veſſel, which was diſmaſted, to the Admiral. He affirms the account of the fleet being French, with hoſtile views to this country; but does not appear to know whether the whole fleet, which conſiſted of about 17 ſail of the line, 15 frigates, and including tranſports and luggers, amounted to fifty ſail, were all to re-aſſemble off Bantry.—General *Hoche* was on board, commanding a conſiderable force."

I have the honor to be,
my Lord,
your Lordſhip's moſt obedient ſervant,
T. PELHAM."

Right hon. Lord Mayor.

This expedition of the enemy fortunately failed, as they were driven from our coaſt by a ſevere ſtorm; and the fleet diſperſed.

The

The apprehenſion of an invaſion from France, operated to unite perſons of every religious perſuaſion in defence of the country:—a numerous meeting took place, of the Proteſtants, Proteſtant Diſſenters, and Roman Catholics of the pariſh and neighbourhood of Ardkeen in the barony of Ards, and county of Down, who unanimouſly reſolved and declared as follows.———

Reſolved. 1ſt. "That at this alarming criſis, when the loyalty of ſome of his Majeſty's ſubjects is queſtioned, we think it our duty to ſtand forward and declare our loyalty to our king, and attachment to thoſe principles which ſaved his illuſtrious anceſtors on the throne of theſe kingdoms, and that we will, to the utmoſt of our power, ſupport his Majeſty's perſon, crown, and dignity.

2dly. "We declare that we are firmly and unalterably attached to our form of government, conſiſting of King, Lords, and Commons, and we truſt, that his Majeſty will, in due time, be graciouſly pleaſed to recommend it to his parliament to bring forward ſuch laws as will tend to unite all his ſubjects in the love of our happy conſtitution, upon which the peace and proſperity of the empire depend."

3dly. "Reſolved, that we lament and abhor the ſpirit of bigotry and deſtruction of property which have too long diſgraced a neighbouring county; and in order to ſuppreſs ſuch evils, we do hereby pledge ourſelves to each other, and to the public, that we will individually, and in a body, if called on, come forward and aſſiſt the civil magiſtrate in the execution of the laws, and the preſervation of the peace of this county; and in the defence of the lives, liberties, and properties of all his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, be their religious profeſſions what they may,"

On the 16th of January, 1797, the parliament met purſuant to adjournment.———

Mr. Secretary

Mr Secretary Pelham, in his place, read to the houſe a meſſage from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in purport,—"That his Excellency was commanded by his Majeſty to acquaint his faithful parliament, with deep concern on the part of his Majeſty, that his exertions to prevent a farther extenſion of the miſeries of warfare in Europe, by an amicable adjuſtment of the matters lately pending in diſcuſſion with the court of Spain, had failed in ſucceſs, and terminated, on the part of Spain, by an abrupt and aggreſſive declaration of war againſt Great Britain; adding his Majeſty's expreſſions of reliance on the ſupport of his faithful parliament, the valour of his fleets and armies, and the loyalty and attachment of his faithful ſubjects, to repel this wanton and unprovoked aggreſſion, and to maintain and defend the honour and dignity of his crown, and the welfare of his kingdom."

"The meſſage next adverted to the failure of the negociation with the power executing the government of France, which was alſo abruptly broke off by that power, without any diſcuſſion of the principles or objects propoſed as a ground of peace, with peremptory orders from his Majeſty's ambaſſador to quit the French territory within forty-eight hours. On this point his Majeſty's deſire is to intimate that copies of the ſeveral notes, officially paſſed in correſpondence between his Majeſty's ambaſſador and the miniſter of the French directory at Paris, upon the ſubject of a pacific negociation, ſhall be laid before the houſe, and to expreſs his Majeſty's reliance on the ſupport of his faithful parliament and loyal people, in a war, firſt aggreſſively commenced againſt him, and now obſtinately perſiſted in by the enemy; a war which did not depend ſolely on his Majeſty to terminate, but nevertheleſs which his Majeſty ſhould leave no means unexerted, conſiſtent with the honour and dignity of his crown and welfare of the Britiſh Empire, to bring to ſpeedy concluſion."

"The

"The meſſage next recurs to the recent attempts of an enemy's ſquadron to invade the ſhores of this country; and, while his Excellency expreſſes the deep ſenſe of the ſpirit, the alacrity, and the loyalty manifeſted on that occaſion, he avows his Majeſty's command to declare in his royal name the moſt favourable ſenſe and higheſt approbation to the general ſpirit of loyalty and alacrity which on that occaſion univerſally actuated his Majeſty's regular troops, militia, yeomanry corps, and every claſs of his faithful ſubjects; expreſſing, at the ſame time, that the ſame tempeſt which, providentially for Ireland, proved ſo deſtructive to the enemys ſquadron, had prevented his fleets from coming time enough to our coaſts to complete their ruin, but which, it was hoped, would be effected before they could reach France.

"His Majeſty, ever zealous for the ſafety of his kingdom of Ireland, had in readineſs to embark for her aid an ample force, had the landing of an enemy rendered it neceſſary."

"His Majeſty at the ſame time deſires to recommend to his parliament of Ireland, ſuch due conſideration of the ſtrength and reſources of the country, as may enable them to make preparation for the ſafety of the kingdom, adequate to the deſperation of a daring enemy."

Public credit being at this time much ſhaken, by the alarming ſituation of affairs, a meeting was held at the Manſion houſe, in purſuance of public notice from the Lord Mayor to the bankers, merchants, and traders of the city of Dublin, on the 3d March, 1797, when they came to the following reſolution;

The right hon. the Lord Mayor in the Chair.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That we, the underſigned, being highly ſenſible how neceſſary the preſervation of

public credit is at this time, do moſt readily hereby declare, that we will not refuſe to receive the Bank of Ireland and the ſeveral bankers notes in payment of any ſum of money to be paid to us, fully ſatisfied of the ſolvency of the ſeveral banks in this metropolis, and that we will uſe our utmoſt endeavours to make all our payments in the ſame manner, and to promote the circulation thereof.

The day previous to this meeting, the following proclamation iſſued.

By the Lord Lieutenant and council of Ireland.

"Camden. A communication being made to the council by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant ſtating, that his Excellency had received diſpatches from his Grace the Duke of Portland, encloſing the copy of an order of the privy council, made at the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 26th day of February, 1797; together with the declaration of the Bank of England in purſuance thereof, copies of which are hereunto annexed: it is the unanimous opinion of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and privy council, that in conſequence of the ſaid order and declaration, and in order to prevent a want of a ſufficient ſupply of caſh to anſwer the exigencies of the public ſervice, which, under the aforeſaid circumſtances may take place, unleſs immediate and effectual means be reſorted to for preventing the ſame, that it is thought to be neceſſary to adopt a ſimilar meaſure in this kingdom, and that accordingly the directors of the Bank of Ireland ſhould forbear iſſuing any caſh in payment until the ſenſe of parliament ſhould be taken on the ſubject, And it is ordered, that a copy of this order be tranſmitted to the directors of the Bank of Ireland; and they are hereby required on the grounds of the exigency of the caſe, to conform

conform thereto, until the ſenſe of parliament ſhall be taken as aforeſaid.

Given at the council chamber in Dublin, the 2d day of March, 1797.

Clare C. Charles Caſhell, Shannon, John Foſter, T. Pelham, J. Parnel, J. Beresford.

J. PATRICKSON, Dep. Cl. Counc.

The Bank of Ireland in conſequence of the foregoing proclamation gave public notice as follows;

Bank of Ireland. 2d March, 1797.

"His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, having communicated to the bank a proclamation, iſſued by the government of England, and the reſolution of the governor, deputy governor and directors of the Bank of England, in conſequence thereof. And the Lord Lieutenant and privy council of Ireland having this day ſent to the Bank an order, of which a copy is hereunto annexed,"

"The governor, deputy governor, and directors of the Bank of Ireland in court aſſembled, think it proper to comply with the above order, and to ſuſpend the payment of ſpecie at preſent; but are happy in being able to inform the public that the ſituation of the Bank is ſtrong, and its affairs in the moſt proſperous ſituation; and that the governors and directors will accommodate the public with the uſual diſcounts, paying the amount in bank notes.

Signed by order,
THOMAS WILLIAMS, Sec.

It was now thought neceſſary in conſequence of the diſturbances in the north, to put the country under the controul and power of the military; and the meaſures which government thought proper to purſue on the occaſion, appear from Mr. *Pelham's* official letter to *Gen. Leake* dated 3d March, 1797.

"I am commanded (ſays he) by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that, from the information received by his excellency with reſpect to the various parts of the north of Ireland, additional meaſures, to thoſe already employed for preſerving the public peace, are become neceſſary. It appears, that in the counties of Down, Antrim, Derry, and Donegal, ſecret and treaſonable aſſociations ſtill continue to an alarming degree; and that the perſons concerned in theſe aſſociations are attempting to defeat all the exertions of the loyal and well-diſpoſed, by the means of terror:—that they threaten the lives of all who ſhall venture, from regard to their duty and oath of allegiance, to diſcover their treaſons:—that they aſſemble, in great numbers, at night; and, by threats and force, diſarm the peaceable inhabitants:—that they have fired on his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, when endeavouring to apprehend them in their nocturnal robberies: that they threaten, by papers, letters, and notices, the perſons of thoſe who ſhall, in any manner, reſiſt or oppoſe them: that, in their nightly excurſions for the purpoſe of diſarming his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, they diſguiſe their perſons and countenances: that they endeavour to collect great quantities of arms in concealed hiding places: that they have cut down great numbers of trees on the eſtates of the gentry, for the purpoſe of making pikes; and that they have ſtolen great quantities of lead for the purpoſe of caſting bullets:——that they privately by night, exerciſe themſelves in the practice of arms: that they endeavour to intimidate perſons from joining

joining the yeomanry corps eſtabliſhed by law, in order to reſiſt a foreign enemy: that they refuſe to employ in manufactures, thoſe who enliſt in ſaid corps: that they not only threaten, but ill-treat the perſons of the yeomanry; and even attack their houſes by night, and proceed to the barbarous extremity of deliberate and ſhocking murder, as was exemplified in their recent attack and murder by night of Mr. *Comyns* of *Newtown-ards*; and that they profeſs a reſolution to aſſiſt the enemies of his Majeſty, if they ſhould be enabled to land in this kingdom, &c. His Excellency has commanded me, to communicate to you his poſitive orders, that you take the moſt immediate and deciſive meaſures for diſpoſing of the military force under your command, aided by the yeomanry corps, for immediately diſarming all perſons who ſhall not bear his Majeſty's commiſſion, or are acting under perſons ſo commiſſioned; and after making ſuch diſpoſitions, you are required to carry ſuch diſarming into effect," &c.— His Excellency further authoriſes you to employ force againſt any perſons aſſembled in arms, not legally authoriſed ſo to be; to diſperſe all tumultuous aſſemblies of perſons, though they may not be in arms, without waiting for the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the civil authority, if, in your opinion, the peace of the realm, or the ſafety of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, may be endangered by waiting for ſuch authority. His Excellency further authoriſes you, to conſider thoſe parts of the country where the outrages before ſtated have been committed, as where they ſhall ariſe, as being in a ſtate that requires all the meaſures of exertion and precaution which a country, depending upon military force alone for it's protection, would require; and you are therefore required to ſtation your troops with a view to interrupt communication between thoſe whom you may ſuſpect of evil deſigns; to eſtabliſh patroles on the high roads or other paſſes; and to ſtop all perſons paſſing and repaſſing after certain hours of the night:—

night:—And, in order completely to carry into effect any orders or regulations, which, in the circumstances of the case, may be considered by you as necessary, you are authorised to issue notices, stating the regulations, and calling upon his Majesty's subjects to be aiding and assisting therein."

Pursuant to these powers, general *Leake* issued a notice, or proclamation, at *Belfast*, the 13th of March, 1797, stating the before-mentioned circumstances, and requiring all persons in that district (peace officers, and those serving in a military capacity, excepted) to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition in their possession, to the officer commanding the king's troops in their neighbourhood: and inviting all persons enabled to give information touching concealed arms, to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his Majesty's forces in their respective districts.

On the 16th of the same month Mr. Grattan stated that a paper had been this day put into his hand, which, on reading it, very much excited his astonishment. It was an article published in a newspaper called the Belfast News Letter, purporting to be a proclamation from general Leake, and signed with the name of that general, declaring the whole province of Ulster to be out of the King's peace, and without the pale of the constitution. Such an act he considered as one of the most mischievous measures at this moment that any man could be guilty of, towards the tranquillity of the country, as violatory of the constitution and the bill of rights—such an act as he could hardly suppose Gen. Leake would have attempted without the authority of government, and such an one as demanded the interference of the house, He held the paper in his hand, and wished to know from the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pelham) if the proclamation had been issued by the authority of government?

Mr. Pelham

Mr. Pelham ſubmitted to the right hon. gentleman, whether, if Gen. Leake had taken any illegal proceedings there were no other modes of inveſtigating the propriety of ſuch proceedings, or the authority upon which it was adopted, than preſſing him to anſwer the queſtion he now asked, or to avow or diſavow the meaſure on the mere authority of a ſcrap of printed paper, authenticated upon no other proof than its appearance in a newſpaper.

Mr. Grattan anſwered, that as the right hon. gentleman did not think it expedient to give him an anſwer on the ſubject, he ſhould take an opportunity of moving for an official copy of the inſtructions of government to Gen. Leake, touching this meaſure.

The contentions which continued in Ulſter between the peep-of-day boys and the defenders, obliged many Roman Catholic families, particularly of the lower claſs, to flee from the county of Armagh, and to ſeek refuge amongſt the inhabitants of Connaught. This circumſtance occaſioned the following addreſs from a reſpectable meeting held in that county to ſuch of their Roman Catholic brethren as had been driven from their country by the late cruel perſecution.

" Friends, brethren, and fellow citizens. In this unhappy country, the deſigning emiſſaries of a venal and profligate adminiſtration, have, with impunity, too long ſcattered amongſt us the ſeed of diſunion and religious perſecution; they ſaw that if the people were once united in the bands of ſocial love and affection, that ſyſtem of corruptin, which they have ſubſtituted for the pure ſpirit of the conſtitution, would have periſhed for ever."

" Hence, Brethren, they adopted the diabolical maxim, divide et impera. In their hands the religion of the moſt high God, the ſpirit of which is peace, love, union, and ſocial

ſocial order, has become the inſtrument of diſcord and bigotry—of perſecution, bloody and relentleſs."

"We lament, that infatuation, that ill-judged and miſguided zeal, which drove from their habitations many of our moſt uſeful citizens, and rendered our country odious to the world. From this moment we wiſh to bury for ever all religious contentions, and all animoſities that may ſeparate us from our fellow citizens."

"In the union of love, in the ſpirit of univerſal benevolence, we invite you, that are now forlorn and friendleſs wanderers through the kingdom, to return to your habitations. At your return you will find us united as one man, and ready to receive, without religious diſtinctions, our countrymen into a holy and religious and exalted compact."

"Our aim is to procure a reform in parliament, and Catholic emancipation; and to the attainment of theſe grand objects, our progreſs ſhall be moderate, yet firm—and temperate yet irreſiſtible."

On the 8th of April 1797, a meeting of the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin was held at the Royal Exchange, having been convened in purſuance of a requiſition to the high ſheriff, in order to take into conſideration a petition to his Majeſty, humbly entreating that he may be graciouſly pleaſed to diſmiſs his preſent Miniſters, for ever, and take to his councils men, who enjoy the confidence of his ſubjects.

The High Sheriffs in the Chair,

"Mr. Benjamin Wills moved a petition, which being read, Sir Wm. Worthington moved the queſtion of adjournment, and was ſeconded by Mr. Patrickſon. Sheriff Pemberton obſerving a number of people in the Exchange,

change, neither freemen or freeholders, desired that those should retire to each side before he could put the question; on the question being put, the sheriff declared he thought the Noes had it. Dr. Duigenan then moved a division, and was seconded by Sir St. George O'Kelly. The meeting having divided, Sheriff Pemberton declared that the majority on the division was against the adjournment, but that he was decidedly of opinion that there were numbers at the meeting not entitled to vote.

"The petition was then read paragraph by paragraph, the first was agreed to with some dissenting voices, all the rest were unanimously agreed to."

"It was then moved by Mr. Lawless, that the Sheriffs do quit the chair, and it being agreed to, Mr. Lawless moved that the right hon. Henry Grattan do take the chair, which was unanimously agreed to.

The following resolutions were then agreed to.

"Resolved, That the petition which has been now read paragraph by paragraph, do stand the petition of the meeting."

"Resolved, That the high sheriffs be now requested to sign the petition, which they declined."

"Resolved, That the chairman be requested to sign the petition, the sheriffs having declined it."

"Resolved, That the chairman as one of the representatives of the city of Dublin, be requested to present this petition to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in order to be transmitted to his Majesty."

"Resolved, That the following gentlemen do attend the chairman in presenting the petition.

John

John Byrne, Esq. Hon. Mr. Leeson. Hugh Skeys, Esq. Frans. Burroughs, Esq. Hampden Evans, Esq. Brab. Ponsonby, Esq. Geo. Ponsonby, Esq. J. P. Curran, Esq. Jos. Huband, Esq. Hon. R. Moore, Jo. Sweetman, Esq. Benjamin Wills, Esq. Edmond Whitehead, Esq.

The petition agreed to was as follows.

"*May it please your Majesty,*

"We your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, beg leave to approach the throne with the strongest assurances of affection, and to express at the same time with all humility our decided opinion with respect to the councils of your Majesty's ministers, who have prosecuted the present disastrous war with an obstinacy that can only be equalled by their misconduct of the same—and who have in this country pursued a system of government inconsistent with the principles of the constitution, injurious to the independency of parliament, and subversive of the liberty of the subject."

"Your ministers have been publicly charged with the sale of peerage, for the purpose of procuring seats in parliament, and when evidence was offered to convict them of the same, they shrunk from the inquiry. Places have been created for the express purpose of procuring majorities in parliament, and those attacks upon the constitution have been accompanied by a doctrine which pleaded for the necessity of corrupting the legislature, in a memorable declaration, equally public and audacious."

"Your ministers have endeavoured to support their system of corruption by terror and violence, and accordingly have applied to parliament for the enaction of certain statutes, namely, the gunpowder bill, convention bill, insurrection bill, and a bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus

corpus act, whereby your subjects have been deprived of their personal liberty, their dearest rights, and of all those inestimable privileges, for the defence of which your Majesty's family was chosen to the sovereignty of these kingdoms."

"That in addition to all this your ministers have of late issued an order for putting the North under military government, and military execution; an order which amounts to an exercise of a dispensing power, lawless, unprecedented, and outrageous. That here we beg leave to submit to your Majesty how dangerous such a measure, if persisted in, may be to the connection of the two countries, and how rash these ministers must be who persevere in a war with France, and at the same time commence hostilities against the North of Ireland."

"That the conduct of your ministers towards the Catholics of Ireland has been equally impolitic and illiberal; and notwithstanding your gracious recommendation from the throne in favour of your Catholic subjects, they caused several innocent members of the Catholic communion to be tried for their lives, and endeavoured to exclude Catholics from those offices and franchises to which by law they were admissible, exercised against their characters the most unqualified abuse, and your English ministers having authorised Earl Fitzwilliam to hold out hopes of full emancipation, they recalled him for supporting the same, and when your people petitioned your Majesty in expressions of concern and disappointment, they received no answer, save only troops poured into this country by those ministers."

"Your ministers have loaded your people with taxes beyond example, and given a fatal blow to public credit by their measures foreign and domestic. Our commerce has

has declined, our manufacturers are ſeverely depreſſed, and our manufactures ſtarving by thouſands. When the country was threatened with invaſion they neglected its defence, and when they attempted to negotiate peace, they proved themſelves inſincere and incapable."

"We therefore moſt humbly implore your Majeſty to diſmiſs them for ever from your preſence and councils, and that you will reſtore the bleſſings of peace, and give to al your people the full enjoyment of a free conſtitution."

On the 17th May, 1797, the following proclamation was iſſued.

By the Lord Lieutenant and council of Ireland.

A PROCLAMATION.

"CAMDEN,

"Whereas there exiſts within this kingdom a ſeditious and traitorous conſpiracy, by a member of perſons ſtyling themſelves United Iriſhmen, for the ſubverſion of the authority of his Majeſty, and the parliament, and the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government: and whereas for the execution of ſuch their wicked deſign they have planned means of open violence and formed ſecret arrangements for raiſing, arming, and paying a diſciplined force, and, in furtherance of their purpoſes, have frequently aſſembled in great and unuſual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals, and the like, and have frequently aſſembled in large armed bodies and plundered of arms the houſes of many of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects in different parts of the kingdom, and cut down and carried away great numbers of trees, wherewith to make handles for pikes, and other offenſive weapons to arm their traitorous aſſociates, and have audaciouſly attempted to diſarm the diſtrict or yeomanry corps, enrolled under his

his Majesty's commission for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon several bodies of his Majesty's forces when attempting to quell their insurrection; and it is therefore now become necessary to use the utmost powers with which government is by law entrusted for the suppression of such traitorous attempts. And whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the suppression of the aforesaid traitorous and wicked conspiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majesty's faithful subjects,"

"Now we the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the privy council, having determined as far as in us lies, to suppress such daring attempts; and at the same time desirous to prevent the well-disposed, or minded, from falling into the dangers to which ignorance or incaution may expose them, do by this our proclamation, forewarn all such to abstain from entering into the said traitorous societies of United Irishmen, or any of them, and from resorting to their meetings, or acting under their directions, or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from suffering them to assemble in their houses, or in any manner harbouring them. And we do strictly charge and command, on their allegiance, all persons having knowledge, or information of the meetings of said societies, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to some of his Majesty's justices of the peace, or to some officers of his Majesty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where such meeting is intended. And we do forewarn all persons from tumultuous or unlawful assemblies, or from meeting in any unusual numbers, under the plausible or colourable pretence aforesaid, or any other whatsoever."

"And we caution his Majesty's loyal and loving subjects, whenever such assemblies shall happen, or that they receive

ceive notice from any magiſtrates, or from the officers commanding any body of his Majeſty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-diſpoſed may avoid the miſchiefs which the guilty may bring upon themſelves."

"And as it is become neceſſary, from the circumſtances before mentioned, to employ the military force, with which we are by law entruſted, for the immediate ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious and traitorous attempts now making againſt the peace and dignity of the crown, and the ſafety of the lives and properties of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, We have therefore iſſued the moſt direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his Majeſty's troops, by the exertion of their utmoſt force, to ſuppreſs, the ſame, and to oppoſe with their full power all ſuch as ſhall reſiſt them in the execution of their duty."

"And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to diſcover all pikes, pike-heads, concealed guns and ſwords, offenſive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatſoever."

"And we do hereby charge and command all perſons having in their cuſtody pikes, pike-heads, or concealed guns, ſwords, offenſive weapons. or ammunition, of any kind whatever, to deliver up the ſame to ſome magiſtrates, or officer of his Majeſty's troops, as they ſhall anſwer to the country at their peril. And we do hereby ſtrictly charge and command all officers, civil and military, and all other his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, to be aiding and aſſiſting in ſuppreſſing all traitorous, tumultuous and unlawful aſſemblies, and in bringing to puniſhment all perſons diſturbing or attempting to diſturb the public peace."

"And

"And whereas we have reaſon to hope that many of his Majeſty's ſubjects who have joined the ſaid traitorous ſociety, have done ſo without being apprized of the extent of their crimes, and others from intimidation, and that ſuch may be willing to return to their allegiance, Now we being deſirous to extend his Majeſty's pardon to all ſuch as are ſenſible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, do hereby promiſe his Majeſty's gracious pardon, to all ſuch perſons, ſo ſeduced or intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the ſaid ſocieties, or any of them, who ſhall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of June next, ſurrender themſelves to any of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, being of the quorum of the counties in which they ſhall reſpectively reſide, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into ſufficient recognizance with two ſufficient ſureties, if ſureties ſhall be required by the magiſtrate before whom ſuch recognizance ſhall be acknowledged, (which recognizance every ſuch magiſtrate is hereby required to return to the next general ſeſſion of the peace, or aſſizes to be holden in and for the county in which ſuch recognizance ſhall be taken reſpectively) to be of the peace and good behaviour for the ſpace of ſeven years, ſave and except all ſuch as have been guilty of murder, conſpiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houſes, corn or hay ſtacks of ſtraw or turf, maliciouſly digging up, or injuring, or deſtroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind, planted or ſowed, or deſtroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, adminiſtering or cauſing to be adminiſtered any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his Majeſty's forces of any deſcription, or inciting or encouraging any perſon to commit any of the aforeſaid offences reſpectively, and ſave and except all perſons now in cuſtody."

Council-chamber, Dublin, 17th May, 1797.

W. Armagh. Clare C. Char. Caſhel. &c.

The parliament was prorogued in June 1797 to the 10th day of Auguſt following, and afterwards diſſolved by proclamation as follows.

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT and COUNCIL OF IRELAND
A PROCLAMATION,

"CAMDEN.

"Whereas the parliament of this kingdom, which ſtood prorogued to Thurſday the tenth day of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety ſeven, hath this day been diſſolved,"

"And whereas his Majeſty, by and with the advice of his lieutenant general and privy council of this kingdom, for certain arduous and urgent affairs, touching his Majeſty and the ſtate and defence of his kingdom of Ireland, hath ordained that a parliament be holden at the city of Dublin, on Monday the twenty-third day of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſeven, by his ſaid Lieutenant General, or in his abſence by his juſtices general and general governors of his ſaid kingdom, his deputies in that behalf, and there to treat and have conference with the prelates, peers, and great men of this realm, concerning the ſame,"

"And whereas, in purſuance of an act paſſed in this kingdom, entitled, "An act to regulate the manner of paſſing bills, and to prevent delays in ſummoning parliaments," his Majeſty has been pleaſed to grant his royal licence, under the great ſeal of Great Britain, for calling and holding the ſaid parliament,"

"Theſe are therefore to publiſh and make known, by this our proclamation, his Majeſty's royal pleaſure in that behalf, and the ſaid parliament is accordingly to be

be holden at Dublin, on Monday the twenty-first day of August next; and that writs will be issued for summoning the said parliament, bearing test on this day, the eleventh of July 1797; whereof all persons concerned are to take notice."

Given at the Council-chamber in Dublin,
the 11th day of July, 1797.

W. Armagh. C. Clare. Drogheda, &c.

CHAP. VII.

Commencement of the parliament in 1798.—*Liſt of the members returned.—(being the laſt Iriſh parliament.)—Addreſs of the city of Londonderry to the Lord Lieutenant.—His excellency's anſwer.—Licentiouſneſs of the military.—General orders of the commander in chief in conſequence thereof.—Parliamentary diſcuſſion as to the cauſe of the national diſturbances.—Speech and motion of Sir Laurence Parſons relative thereto.—Motion rejected.*

A New general election having taken place in conſequence of the diſſolution of parliament—we inſert the following liſt of the members returned, as they conſtituted the laſt parliament holden under the antient conſtitution of Ireland; bearing date the 11th day of July, 1797.

Co. of Antrim.
John Staples, Eſq;
Ed. Alex. M'Naghten, Eſq;
Bo. of Antrim.
The hon. H. Skeffington.
The hon. John Skeffington.
Bo. of Belfaſt.
The hon. Spencer Chicheſter, commonly called Ld. Spencer Chicheſter.
Bo. of Lisburn.
George Hatton, Eſq;
Stewart Bruce, Eſq;
Bo. of Randalſtown.
The right hon. Iſaac Corry.
George Jackſon, Eſq;

Co. of

Co. of Armagh.

The hon. Arch. Acheſon.

The hon. F. W. Caulfield, commonly called Lord Viſ. Caulfield

Bo. of Armagh.

The right hon. Tho. Pelham.

P. Duigenan, Eſq; L. L. D.

Bo. of Charlemont.

The hon. Fr. Wm. Caulfield, commonly called Ld. Viſ. Caulfield.

Rich. Mounte. Jephſon, Eſq;

Co. and town of Carrickfergus.

The hon. Spencer Chicheſter commonly called Ld. Spencer Chicheſter.

Ezekiel Davys Wilſon.

Co. of Carlow.

William Burton, Eſq;

Sir Richard Butler, Bart.

Bo. of Carlow.

Henry Sadler Prittie, Eſq.

William Elliot, Eſq;

Bo. of Old Leighlin.

Edward Cooke, Eſq;

Sir Boyle Roche, Bart.

Co. of Cavan.

The hon. John Ja. Maxwell, commonly called Ld. Viſ. Maxwell.

Francis Saunderſon, Eſq;

Bo. of Belturbet.

Charles King, Eſq;

Thomas Townſend, Eſq;

Bo. of Cavan.

Thomas Nesbitt, Eſq;

The hon. N. Clements, commonly called Lord Viſ. Clements.

Co. of Clare.

The hon. F. N Burton.

Hugh Dillon Maſſey, Eſq;

Bo. of Ennis.

Sir Edward O'Brien, Bart.

Nathaniel Sneyd, Eſq;

Co. of Cork.

The hon. H. Boyle, commonly called Lord Viſ. Boyle.

The hon. Robert King, commonly called Lord Viſ. Kingsborough.

Bo. of Baltimore.

Sir John Freke, Bart.

George Evans, Eſq;

Town of Bandon-Bridge.

Broderick Chinnery, Eſq;

The hon. R. W. O'Callaghan.

Bo. of Caſtlemartyr.

Sir J. Laurence Cotter, Bart.

John Townſend, Eſq.

Town of Charleville.

The hon. Charles Boyle.

Rogerſon Cotter, Eſq;

Bo of Cloghnikelty.

John Hobſon, Eſq;

Thomas Prendergaſt, Eſq;

City of Cork.

Major general the hon. John Hely Hutchinſon.

Manor of Doneraile.
Peter Holmes, Esq;
John Townsend, Esq;
Town of Kinsale.
William Rowley, Esq;
S. Campbell Rowley, Esq;
Town of Mallow.
Denham Jephson, Esq;
John Longfield, Esq;
Town of Middleton.
Ben. Blake Woodward, Esq;
Richard Hardinge, Esq;
Bo. of Rathcormuck.
The hon. Henry Boyle, commonly called Lord Vis. Boyle.
Charles M'Donnell, Esq;
Town of Youghall.
Robert Uniacke, Esq;
John Keane, Esq;
County of Donegal
Alex. Montgomery, Esq;
H. Vaughan Brooke, Esq;
Bo. of Ballyshannon.
The hon. S. Lowry Corry,
David Babington, Esq;
Bo. of Donegall.
Colonel Hugh O'Donnel.
William Smyth, Esq;
Bo. of Killybeggs.
The hon. Fr. Nat. Burton.
Richard Archdall, Esq;
Bo. of Lifford.
The hon. Abra Creighton.
The hon. John Creighton.

Bo. of St. Johnstown.
The right hon. W. Forward.
The hon. Hugh Howard.
Co of Down.
The hon. R. Stewart, commonly called Lord Vis. Castlereagh.
Francis Savage, Esq;
Bo. of Bangor.
The hon. Robert Ward.
John Stewart, Esq;
Bo. of Downpatrick.
Clotworthy Rowley, Esq;
Josias Rowley, Esq;
Bo of Hillsborough.
William Montgomery, Esq;
Robert Johnstone, Esq;
Bo. of Killyleagh.
Sir John Blackwood, Bart.
James Ste. Blackwood, Esq;
Bo. of Newry.
The right hon. Isaac Corry.
The right hon. Robert Ross.
Bo of Newtownards.
The right hon. Sir J. Blaquiere, K. B.
Robert Alexander, Esq;
Drogheda Co. and Town.
John Ball, Esq;
Edward Hardman, Esq;
Co. of Dublin.
Hans Hamilton, Esq;
Frederick J. Falkiner, Esq;

City

City of Dublin.
The right hon. Ar. Wolfe.
John C. Beresford, Esq;
University of Dublin.
A. Browne, Esq; L. L. D.
Hon. George Knox.
Bo. of Newcastle.
The right hon. D. Latouche.
John Latouche, jun. Esq;
Bo. of Swords.
Francis Synge, Esq;
Charles Cobbe, Esq;
Co. of Fermanagh.
Colo. Mervyn Archdall.
The hon. John Cole, commonly called Ld. Vis. Cole.
Bo. of Enniskillen.
The hon. Lieutenant Colonel Galbraith Lowry Cole.
The hon. A. Cole Hamilton.
Co. of Galway.
Joseph Henry Blake, Esq;
Richard Trench, Esq;
Bo. of Athenry.
Theophilus Blakeney, Esq;
Colonel Wm. Blakeney.
Town of Galway.
St. George Daly, Esq;
George Ponsonby, Esq;
Bo. of Tuam.
John Bingham, Esq;
The hon. Walter Yelverton,
Co of Kerry.
Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq;
James Crosbie, Esq;
Bo. of Ardfert.
The right hon. A. Wolfe.
Robert Day, Esq;
Bo. of Dingle-Icouch.
The right hon. L. Morres.
Sir James Lau. Cotter, Bart.
Bo. of Tralee.
Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq;
James Crosbie, Esq;
Co. of Kildare.
Maurice Keating, Esq;
John Latouche, Esq;
Bo. of Athy.
William Hare, Esq;
Richard Hare, Esq;
Bo. of Harristown.
John Latouche, jun. Esq;
Robert Latouche, Esq;
Bo. of Kildare.
The right hon. J. Fitzgerald.
Colonel Bridges Henniker.
Bo. of Naas.
The right hon. T. Pelham.
The hon. F. Hutchinson.
Co. of Kilkenny.
The right hon. W. B. Ponsonby.
The hon. James Butler.
Bo. of Callan.
Charles Kendal Bushe, Esq;
Patrick Welch, Esq;
Bo. of St. Canice.
The right hon. John Monck Mason.
William Elliot, Esq;

Bo.

Bo. of Gowran.
George Bunbury, Esq;
George Burdett, Esq;
Bo. of Inistioge.
Wm. Tighe, Esq;
Henry Tighe, Esq;
City of Kilkenny.
James Wemyss. Esq;
Thomas Kavanagh, Esq;
Bo. of Knocktopher.
The right hon. Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart,
Sir George Shee, Bart.
Bo. of Thomastown.
George Dunbar, Esq;
James Kearney, Esq;
King's county
Sir Laurence Parsons, Bart.
Denis Bowes Daly, Esq;
Bo. of Banagher.
John Bra. Ponsonby, Esq;
John Metge, Esq;
Bo. of Philipstown.
Francis Knox. Esq,
Robert Crowe, Esq;
Co. of Leitrim.
The hon. Nath. Clements, commonly called Lord Vis-Clements.
The right hon. The. Jones.
Bo. of Carrick.
The hon. Nath. Clements, commonly called Lord Vis-Clements.
Natheniel Sneyd, Esq;

Bo. of Johnstown.
Gilbert King, Esq;
John King, Esq;
Co. of Limerick.
John Waller, Esq;
Lieu Colonel Wm. Odell.
Bo. of Askeyton.
Sir Joseph Hoare, Bart.
John Stewart, Esq;
Bo. of Kilmallock.
John Waller, Esq;
Silver Oliver, jun. Esq;
City of Limerick.
Lieu. Colonel C. Vereker.
Henry Deane Grady, Esq;
Co. of Londonderry.
The right hon. H. De la Poer Beresford, Earl of Tyrone,
The right hon. T. Conolly.
Bo. of Coleraine.
The right hon. H. De la Poer Beresford, Earl of Tyrone.
The right hon. J. Beresford.
City of Londonderry.
Sir George Fitz. Hill, Bart.
Henry Alexander, Esq;
Bo. of Newtownlimavady.
The hon. R. Stewart, commonly called Lord Vis. Castlereagh.
Richard Trench, Esq;
Co. of Longford.
Sir Thomas Fetherston, Bart.
Sir W. GleadoweNewcomen, Bart.

Bo.

Bo. of Granard.
George Fulk Lyttleton, Eſq;
Wm. Fulk Greville, Eſq;
Bo. of Lanesborough.
Edmond Stanley, Eſq;
John Latouche, Eſq;
Bo. of Longford.
The hon. T. Packenham.
Henry Stewart, Eſq;
Bo of St Johnſtown,
Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, Bart.
Francis Hardy, Eſq;
Co of Louth,
The right hon. John Foſter,
W. C. Forteſcue, Eſq;
Bo of Atherdee,
Charles Ruxton, Eſq;
William Ruxton, Eſq;
Bo of Carlingford,
The right hon Robert Roſs,
Robert Johnſon, Eſq;
Bo of Dundalk,
The hon George Jocelyn,
The hon John Jocelyn,
Bo of Dunleer,
The hon T. H. Foſter,
Henry Coddington, Eſq;
Co of Mayo,
The Right hon D Browne,
George Jackſon, Eſq;
Bo of Caſtlebar,
The right hon D Browne,
Thomas Lindſay, jun Eſq;
Co of Meath,
The hon Clotworthy Rowley,
Hamilton George, Eſq;
Bo of Athboy,
Thomas Bligh, Eſq;
Hugh Howard,
Bo of Dunleer,
C Montague Ormsby, Eſq;
Robert Rutledge, Eſq;
Bo of Kells.
The hon Col. Robert Taylor,
Stephen Moore, Eſq;
Bo of Navan,
Joſeph Preſton, Eſq;
John Preſton, Eſq;
Bo of Ratoath,
Gorges Lowther, Eſq;
James Moore, Eſq;
Bo of Trim,
Sir Chi. Forteſcue, Knt.
W. Arthur Crosbie, Eſq;
Co of Monaghan
Charles Powell Leſlie, Eſq;
Richard Dawſon, Eſq;
Bo of Monaghan,
W. Charles Forteſcue, Eſq;
Henry Weſtenra, Eſq;
Queen's county,
The right hon Sir John Parnell, Bart.
Charles Henry Coote, Eſq;
Bo of Ballynakill,
The hon Montague Mathew,
Captain John Longfield,

Bo. of Maryborough.
General Eyre Coote,
Henry Parnell, Esq;
Bo. of Portarlington.
The right hon, Sir J. Parnell, Bart.
John Stewart, Esq;
Co. of Roscommon.
The hon. George King, Esq;
Arthur French, jun. Esq;
Bo. of Boyle.
The right hon. Henry King,
The hon. Robert King, commonly called Lord Kingsborough.
Bo. of Roscommon.
Henry Moore Sandford, Esq;
Silver Oliver, Esq;
Bo. of Tulsk.
Henry Irvine, Esq;
Anthony Botel, Esq;
Co. of Sligo.
Joshua Edward Cooper, Esq;
Charles O'Hara, Esq;
Bo. of Sligo.
The hon. John Cole, commonly called Ld. Vis. Cole
Robert Wynne, Esq;
Co of Tipperary.
The hon. Francis Mathew,
John Bagwell, Esq;
City of Cashel.
Richard Penefather, Esq;
The hon John Lysaght,
Bo of Clonmell,
Stephen Moore, Esq;
Thomas Newenham, Esq;
Bo of Fethard,
John Taylor, Esq;
Major William Ponsonby,
Co of Tyrone,
James Stewart, Esq;
The hon Somerset Lowry Corry,
Bo of Augher,
William Bailey, Esq;
John Stewart, Esq;
Co of Clogher,
Sir John Tydd, Bart.
Thomas Burgh, Esq;
Bo of Dungannon,
The hon Charles Knox,
James Verner, Esq;
Bo of Strabane,
N Montgomery Moore, Esq;
John Stewart Esq;
Co of Waterford,
The Right hon John Beresford,
Richard Power, Esq;
Bo of Dungarvan,
Marcus Beresford. Esq;
J Brabazon Ponsonby, Esq;
Bo of Lismore,
Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart.
George Ponsonby, jun Esq;

Bo of Tallagh,
John Metge, Esq;
John Egan, Esq;
City of Waterford,
W. Congreve Alcock, Esq;
R. Shapland Carew, Esq;
Co of Westmeath,
The hon Robert Rochfort,
William Smyth, Esq;
Bo of Athlone,
Sir R. Bligh St. George, Bart.
William Handcock, Esq;
Bo of Fore,
The right hon Robert Ross,
The hon Richard Annesley,
Bo of Kilbeggan,
Sir Francis Hopkins, Bart.
Gustavus Lambert, Esq;
Manor of Mullingar,
Francis Hardy, Esq;
Colonel John Doyle,
Co. of Wexford,
The hon John Loftus Loftus, commonly called Lord Vis. Loftus,
Abel Ram, Esq;
Bo of Bannow,
Major-General W. Loftus,
Ephraim Carroll, Esq;
Bo of Clonmines,
Ponsonby Tottenham, Esq;
Luke Fox, Esq;
Bo of Enniscorthy,
Robert Cornwall, Esq;
W. Congreve Alcock, Esq;
Bo of Fethard,
Henry Alcock, Esq;
Major-general C. Eustace,
Bo of Gorey,
John Toler, Esq;
W. Dom. Stan. Monck, Esq;
Town of New Ross,
Charles Tottenham, Esq;
Robert Leigh, Esq;
Bo of Taughmon,
William Knott, Esq;
James Knox, Esq;
Town of Wexford,
Richard Neville, Esq;
James Boyd, Esq;
Co of Wicklow,
Nicholas Westby, Esq;
William Hume, Esq;
Bo of Baltinglass,
The hon John Stratford,
The hon Benjamin O'Neil Stratford,
Bo of Blessington,
The hon Richard Annesley,
John Reilly, Esq;
Bo of Cary's-fort,
Charles Osborne, Esq;
Henry Osborne, Esq;
Bo of Wicklow,
Daniel Gahan, Esq;
William Tighe, Esq;

The ſpirit and loyalty of the northern part of this kingdom evinced itſelf in the following addreſs from the city of Londonderry to the Lord Lieutenant at the concluſion of the year 1797.

To his Excellency JOHN JEFFRIES, EARL CAMDEN, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

"*May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

"We, the mayor, community, and citizens, of the city of Londonderry, in common council aſſembled, this 7th day of December, 1797, feel ourſelves peculiarly called upon at this juncture, to expreſs our grateful ſenſe of the vigilance and vigour which have diſtinguiſhed, and given efficacy to your Excellency's government."

"When thoſe execrablebanditti, who call themſelves United Iriſhmen, had not only the baſeneſs to coaleſce with our foreign foes, in meditating the overthrow of that conſtitution which had given freedom and proſperity to our country, but had alſo the audacity to denounce horrid vengeance againſt all who ſhould oppoſe them; when they even proceeded to realize thoſe menaces by every ſpecies of barbarous outrage; when the arms of ſuch as were deemed loyal were extorted from them by midnight violence; when committees of aſſaſſination were formed, and their ſuggeſtions deplorably executed; when terror impoſed ſilence upon witneſſes, and made even the honeſt juror ſhrink from his duty, it was obvious in ſuch circumſtances, that the ordinary exerciſe of law could not but prove ineffectual, and the credit and commerce of the country, the ſecurity of property and life, the exiſtence of the community, as well as the unanimous voice of the well-diſpoſed inhabitants of Ireland, indiſpenſably called for an exertion of the legiſlative and executive authority, more adequate to the melancholy exigence."

"We

"We are assured your excellency, trained as you have been from your earliest infancy in the warmest attachment to our invaluable constitution, deplored the painful necessity of departing, even for a time, from its mild and liberal principles, by adding to the penal code, laws which give summary powers; the powers that have been thus entrusted have been cautiously resorted to; they have been executed with wisdom and mercy, nor have they, we are confident, been extended to any district where the circumstances of the country did not loudly demand their exercise; while, therefore, none but disappointed traitors complain, you possess the approbation of every unprejudiced Irishman."

"We in particular, from our situation, as the resident magistracy of this northern city, have had the fullest opportunity of knowing both the necessity, the execution, and the consequences of those extraordinary measures, and we should be wanting to ourselves in spirit, honour, and truth, if we did not bear testimony to the facts which we have witnessed. We are at this time peculiarly called on to do so, in consequence of a gross misstatement made by a noble personage in another kingdom, from whom, considering his rank and character, better information, and less of party prejudice, might fairly have been expected; we willingly attribute to total ignorance of existing circumstances, what it would be painful to impute to any dishonourable view; but to the statements made by him relative to the measures adopted by the government of this kingdom, and especially to that audacious assertion, "That the proceedings in question were not merely particular acts of cruelty, but that those acts of cruelty formed a part of the system acted upon," we give the most direct and unequivocal contradiction; nay we are bold to affirm, and we defy the ingenuity of malice to disprove, that the general

general conduct both of the magistrates and the military commanders has been cautious and discriminative; that summary measures have been rarely and reluctantly put in practice; that the strictest attention has been exerted, not to confound the seduced with the seducer, or the ignorant with the obdurate; and that since the civil power has received these additional aids, this country has manifested the happiest alteration, both in point of tranquillity and manufacturing industry, in so much, that the state of our commerce is at this moment remarkably vigorous and flourishing. We please ourselves with the hope that the beneficial change which we have already experienced, will, through your Excellency's firm and judicious administration, be rendered universal and permanent; and should our external enemies carry their vaunting menace of invasion into execution, we are equally assured, that notwithstanding the disaffection of a worthless few, the general loyalty and courage of this country, will speedily convince them of the frantic rashness of so desperate an attempt."

"In token of our confidence in your Excellency, and of our high esteem for your personal and hereditary virtues, we humbly request you will honour us by accepting the freedom of the city of Londonderry, which we have directed to be presented to you, by our representatives."

In testimony whereof we have caused our common seal to be hereunto affixed, and our chamberlain to sign the same.

SAM. MONTGOMRY, Chamberlain.

(*SEAL.*)

To which address his Excellency returned the following answer.

"It affords me great satisfaction to receive the address of the respectable corporation of the city of Londonderry, and

and it is more peculiarly satisfactory at this time, as I trust I may interpret it to be the effect of a cool and dispassionate reflection upon those measures, which I have thought it my duty to pursue during a period of much internal disturbance, assisted by the secret machinations and avowed menaces of the enemy.

"As I learn from the latter part of your address, that you have experienced in your neighbourhood so beneficial a change, I will not advert to that state of the country which is so emphatically described in the former part of it. It gives me great pleasure to receive that tribute of applause, which you pay to the magistracy and the militia, who have so essentially contributed to the tranquillity of your immediate neighbourhood, which I had no doubt they would merit from their character, their firmness, their spirit, and their humanity."

"It is my duty to endeavour to preserve that constitution under which this island has improved, and continues to prosper, notwithstanding the attempts of the traitorous to undermine and to revile it; and I shall ill deserve his Majesty's confidence, or that of his subjects, if I suffer any personal considerations to prevent my attempts to extinguish that treason which threatens the peace, the prosperity, the properties and lives of his Majesty's loyal subjects, aims at the perversion of all order, and presumes to attempt to tear the crown of Ireland from the brow of my sovereign."

"Your vote to me of the freedom of the city of Londonderry, demands my additional acknowledgements; I consider it as the most honourable testimony of your good opinion and regard."

The new parliament assembled early in the month of January 1798.—The internal disturbances of the country became

became consequently a subject of discussion, and the causes of these disturbances certainly called aloud for the most serious investigation.

It has been already noticed that in many places, the military were let loose, at free quarters on the public; the consequence of which was, an unwarrantable abuse of unconstitutional power. The reader may form some idea of their conduct from the following general orders issued from the adjutant general's office, by direction of the then commander in chief, and now much lamented, Sir Ralph Abercromby.

ADJUTANT GENERAL's OFFICE,

Dublin, 26th February, 1798,

"*General orders,*

"The very disgraceful frequency of courts-martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in this kingdom, having too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy, the commander in chief thinks it necessary to demand from all generals commanding districts and brigades, as well as commanding officers of regiments, that they exert themselves, and compel from all officers under their command, the strictest and most unremitting attention to the discipline, good order and conduct of their men, such as may restore the high and distinguished reputation, the British troops have been accustomed to enjoy in every part of the world. It becomes necessary to recur and most pointedly to attend to the standing orders of the kingdom, which at the same time, that they direct military assistance to be given, at the requisition of the civil magistrate, positively forbid the troops to act (but in case of attack) without

out

out his preſence and authority; and the moſt clear and preciſe orders are to be given to the officer commanding the party for the purpoſe. The utmoſt prudence and precaution are alſo to be uſed in granting parties to revenue officers, both with reſpect to the perſon requiring ſuch aſſiſtance, and thoſe employed on the duty; whenever a guard is mounted, patroles muſt be frequently ſent out, to take up every ſoldier who may be found out of his quarters after his hours."

"A very culpable remiſſneſs having alſo appeared on the part of officers, reſpecting the neceſſary inſpection of barracks, quarters, meſſes, &c. as well as attendance to roll calls, and other hours, commanding officers muſt enforce the attention of thoſe under their command to thoſe points, and the general regulations, for all which the ſtricteſt reſponſibility will be expected for themſelves."

"It is of the utmoſt importance that the diſcipline of the dragoon regiments ſhould be minutely attended to, for the facilitating of which, the commander in chief has diſpenſed with the attendance of orderly dragoons on himſelf; and deſires that they may not be employed by any general or commanding officer, but on military and indiſpenſable buſineſs."

Lieutenant-general Craig, Eaſtern diſtrict, Barracks, Dublin.

On the 9th March, Sir Laurence Parſons brought forward in the houſe of commons a queſtion on the diſtracted and alarming ſituation of the kingdom. He prefaced his motion with obſerving "that it was an awful moment in which he had to addreſs that houſe—a moment in which we had to exert every nerve againſt a more formidable enemy than this empire had ever known; in ſuch a moment to have the internal peace of the country diſtracted

tracted by political agitation, was to weaken ourselv esand encourage that formidable enemy. The distractions of the country were too obvious and too lamentable for him to dwell on its circumstances: but he called upon the house, by the motion which he was about to make, to enquire into the causes of that distraction, to examine into the demands of the people; it was their duty, as representatives of that people, to conciliate that people, by conceding those demands, if they were just, or convincing them by argument if they were inadmissible. This would be adopting a conduct worthy of the representatives of the people: this would be better than continuing a system of coercion which had failed, or branding a whole people as factiously and irreconcileably turbulent. The people of Ireland had been reproached as turbulent and unsatisfied; they had been told that they had forgotten every benefit in the clamour for new advantages. He would examine this charge, and trusted he would prove it unjust. In the progress of the American war, the people of Ireland, smarting at once under the evils which that war had inflicted upon their trade, and the restraintsi n which that trade was held by English laws, set forward a demand for a free trade, as the only hope of the country. The minister of the day gave them leave to plant tobacco, a weed which would not grow in the country, and told them it was an equivalent to a free trade: however the wishes of the people reached the parental goodness of their Sovereign, and a free trade was granted. They then saw that even this advantage was useless, while another country could bind her commerce by it laws, and they fought the independence of their legislat ure. The minister again wished to elude their demands, and offered a perpetual mutiny bill as an equivalent for independence; that that independence was soon conceded: a repeal of a British statute, which arrogated a legislative power over Ireland was immediately

immediately enacted: that repeal, in the opinion of the moſt eminent lawyers, was held to be inefficient; a committee of thoſe lawyers, many of whom are now the judges of the land, agreed in that opinion, and a renunciation of the claim of legiſlative interference followed upon the part of Great Britain. The deſires of the nation were next turned to a reform of parliament—a queſtion on which the beſt and wiſeſt men had concurred with the general ſentiment; circumſtances however prevented the deſign from going forward. It had indeed been ſuperſeded by a more grievous and affecting ſubject—the crowds of ſtarving manufacturers in our ſtreets, whom the admiſſion of Britiſh manufactures on an equal ſcale, had reduced to miſery and famine: the nation called for ſome remedy to this grievance, and the abſtract ſubject was loſt in immediate ſympathy."

"Sir Laurence then recapitulated the circumſtances of the country until the recal of Lord Fitzwilliam; that recal he had, he ſaid, moſt anxiouſly deprecated, and had taken a forward part to prevent. And the houſe might remember, that when he ſaid on that occaſion "that every gentleman in future ſhould have four or five ſoldiers in his houſe for his defence," that the gallery was inſtantly cleared, and his words ordered to be taken down: yet was not that the caſe at preſent?—How many gentlemen of Ireland had been reduced to that miſerable neceſſity for perſonal ſafety? he hoped moſt ſincerely that his preſent fears for the future would not be ſo totally realized as that had been. What had been the conſequence of that recal? The ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who had been for ſome time almoſt forgotten, began now to diſſeminate their principles with renewed vigour; their artifices were too readily received by an irritated and diſappointed people. In the objects which were held forth to them, reform and emancipation, they were taught to look at once for

that of which they had been disappointed, and the means of its attainment; and it was not wonderful that in such a temper they should have been misled. To make the people respect the laws, the government should itself obey them. Such had not been the conduct of government, and to that misconduct were the outrages and the assassinations which had disgraced the country to be traced. A general officer had in a western district taken out of the gaols a number of prisoners whom the law would have pronounced perhaps innocent, and by his own authority transported them. A bill of indemnity was passed to protect this violation of laws, and upon that bill being debated he well recollected an honourable gentleman (Mr. G. Ponsonby) observing that by thus proving to the common people that the law might be broken with impunity, by taking from them the resource of its protection, the practice of assassination would become as common in Ireland as it was in modern Rome; and that prediction had been unhappily fulfilled. Parliament went farther—in the insurrection bill, the conduct which had been thus indemnified was made the law of the land, and it was notorious that almost every assassination which had taken place, had occurred in the districts in which that law had been enforced. It had been said that the people were not to be reconciled; that the connexion with France was the object of their leaders, and that an ambassador of Ireland at Lisle had prevented the negociation for peace with Great Britain. He believed there might be a few desperate and wicked men, who took advantage of the misconduct of ministers to urge projects of the most violent nature, but he ascribed this rather to the error of government than the disposition of the people. To keep a few individuals in power, the whole nation had been irritated, and the country thrown into a state of outrage; an Irish ambassador at Lisle had been enabled to defeat the pacific efforts

of

of Great Britain, ſinking under her debt, and embarraſſed in her credit—and this to keep a few individuals in office! He deſired to know of miniſters what they propoſed by their plan of coercion? Did they deſire judges more cruel than Jeffries, or generals more ſanguinary than Kirk? They muſt know that Kirk and Jeffries had ſo much alienated the minds of his people that their cruelty had, more than any other circumſtance, tended to deprive James II. of his throne. Did they deſire a viceroy more ſanguinary than the Duke of Alva? They muſt remember that to his conduct the republic of Holland owed its freedom; that although in the five years of his government 18,000 human victims had fallen by the public executioner, beſides the multitudes that had periſhed under military power; yet his maſter the King of Spain by his conduct loſt the ſeven united provinces. Conciliation had indeed been offered by a milder viceroy, but it was too late; the ſword has been drawn on both ſides, and nothing but ſeparation could enſue. Coercion had been employed in America; how had it ſucceeded? governor after governor forced to fly from their offices and ſhelter on board ſhips of war: conciliation had been tried there, but when it was too late. Lord Carliſle had been deputed to ſatisfy the Americans; but though he offered a thouſand times more than even their fondeſt wiſhes had deſired—the blood which had flowed forbade the poſſibility of conciliation. In this country conciliation was not yet too late: the objects of the people were defined: the juſtice of parliament had admitted the principle of emancipation. The reform of the legiſlature was a principle ſupported by the beſt and greateſt men; the late Earl Chatham, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Flood, the preſent Mr. Pitt, all agreed in its neceſſity: it was the right of the people, and ſhould be granted; the meaſure he had to propoſe would not pledge the houſe to any ſpecific mode of conciliation, it would only

tend to prove to the people, that while parliament felt its dignity and supported its consequence, it was not inattentive to the national desires of the country; and that it would not disdain to inquire into the grievances of the people. He again entreated the gentlemen of Ireland to consider the awful situation of the country: the north was said to be quieted: he feared it was a sullen quiet of restrained irritation. The south was not so: where now would we look for that loyalty which had shared the comforts of the peasantry with the soldier, which had removed the mountains of snow which impeded the passage of the army, or yoked itself in the traces of our artillery? where was this spirit fled to? It had fled before the system of coercion."

"It was not too late for parliament to come forward with effect; it was their duty to do so, and to exercise that duty he would move, "That this house do forthwith resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider whence the present discontents in this country arise, and what are the most effectual means of allaying the same."

This motion was negatived.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Æra of the rebellion in 1798.—*Proſpectus of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen.*—*Alterations in that ſociety.*—*Oath.*—*Teſtimony of Dr. M'Nevin.*—*Proceedings in different parts of the kingdom.*—*Abſtracts from the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons in* 1797.—*Force of the inſurgents in different counties, &c.*

WE now approach one of the moſt important periods in Iriſh hiſtory. It was well known to the government of this country and the public in general, that diſaffection was widely diſſeminated, and that rebellion was ready to break forth into action. The reader has, we preſume, been able from the ſeveral documents that have been already laid before him, to form ſome judgment as to the cauſes of this event; we ſhall endeavour to ſtate the circumſtances attending it with candor and impartiality.

In 1791 the ſociety of *United Iriſhmen* (to whom the rebellion of 1798 has been attributed,) appears to have been inſtituted: parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, were however the oſtenſible objects of this union.

In June 1791, a paper was circulated in Dublin, giving a proſpectus of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen; and commencing with the following paragraph. "It is propoſed, that at this conjuncture, a ſociety ſhall be inſtituted

ſtituted in this city, having much of the ſecrecy and ſomewhat of the ceremonial attached to Free-maſonry—with ſo much ſecrecy as may communicate curioſity, uncertainty, and expectation to the minds of ſurrounding men;—with ſo much impreſſive and affecting ceremony in all it's internal œconomy, as without impeding real buſineſs, may ſtrike the ſoul through the ſenſes, and addreſſing the whole man, may animate his philoſophy by the energy of his paſſions." After ſtating at large the views of this ſociety, it proceeds thus, "what are the means of procuring ſuch reform in the conſtitution as may ſecure to the people, their rights moſt effectually and moſt ſpeedily? What is the plan of reform moſt ſuited to this country? can the renovation in the conſtitution, which we all deem neceſſary, be accompliſhed by the ways of the conſtitution? The evil (ſays Junius) lies too deep to be cured by any remedy, leſs than ſome great convulſion, which may bring back the conſtitution to it's original principle, or utterly deſtroy it. To gain a knowledge of the real ſtate of this heterogeneous country," (ſays the writer) "to form a ſummary of the national will and pleaſure, in points moſt intereſting to national happineſs; and when ſuch a ſummary is formed, to put this doctrine as ſpeedily as may be into practice, will be the purpoſe of this central ſociety or lodge; from which other lodges in the different towns, will radiate." He afterwards proceeded to obſerve what the external buſineſs of this ſociety would be; viz.—1ſt,—"publication, in order to propagate their principles, and effectuate their ends."—2d.—Communication with the different towns to be aſſiduouſly kept up; and every exertion uſed to accompliſh a national convention of the people of Ireland, who may profit by paſt errors, and by many unexpected circumſtances which have happened ſince the laſt meeting." 3d,—"communication with ſimilar ſocieties abroad; as, the *Jacobin club* in Paris; the *Revolution ſociety* in England;

the

the *committee for reform* in Scotland, &c."—It would be an idle application of time, to make any explanatory obſervations on this publication; as it ſhews, in terms ſtrong as language can expreſs, what were to be the views and ſentiments of this extraordinary aſſociation. The attachment, however, which the *United Iriſhmen*, or their leaders, had to French revolutionary principles, may be remarked from ſeveral expreſſions in the paper already mentioned, and other ſubſequent publications: the former contains this paſſage.——"On the 14*th* of *July*, the day which ſhall ever commemorate the French revolution, let this ſociety pour out their firſt libation to European liberty, eventually the liberty of the world; and with their hands joined in each other, and their eyes raiſed to heaven, in his preſence who breathed into them an ever-living ſoul, let them ſwear to maintain the rights and prerogatives of their nature, as men; and the right and prerogative of Ireland, as an independant people."

In November, 1791, this ſociety was, at length, formed in Dublin, as appears from its addreſs to the Iriſh nation, dated 25th of January, 1793, which begins thus:—"On the 9th of November, 1791, was this ſociety founded. We, and our brethren of Belfaſt, firſt began that *civic union*, which, if a nation be a ſociety united for mutual advantage, has made Ireland a nation, &c."—This addreſs concludes with "a plan of an equal repreſentation of the people of Ireland in the houſe of commons:" viz.—"*That no property qualification ſhall be neceſſary to entitle any man to be a repreſentative.*"

According to the conſtitution of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, as firſt agreed on, every perſon elected a member thereof, was to take and ſubſcribe the following teſt, viz. "I, A. B. in the preſence of God, do pledge myſelf to my country, that I will uſe all my abilities and influence

fluence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate repreſentation of the Iriſh nation in parliament; and, as a means of abſolute and immediate neceſſity in the eſtabliſhment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour, as much as lies in my ability, to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions; without which, every reform in parliament muſt be partial, not national; inadequate to the wants, deluſive to the wiſhes, and inſufficient for the freedom and happineſs of this country." In the ſociety, were to be different committees, viz. A committee of conſtitution, of finance, of correſpondence, and of accommodation: and to defray the neceſſary expences, and eſtabliſh a fund for the uſe of the ſociety, each ordinary member was to pay one guinea admiſſion fee, and half a guinea every ſix months. The ſecretary was to be furniſhed with a common ſeal, having the impreſſion of a harp;—at the top, "*I am new ſtrung*;"—at the bottom, "*I will be heard*:"—and on the exergue, "*ſociety of United Iriſhmen of Dublin.*"

In proportion, however, to the progreſs of French interference with the affairs of this country, the idea of a reform in the repreſentation of the people, vaniſhed; and a new organization of the ſociety took place in the month of Auguſt, 1797; under which, the nature of it's conſtitution was expreſſed in theſe terms.—"This ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiſlature, founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty." The following teſt, alſo, was ſubſtituted for the former. "In the awful preſence of God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood

brotherhood of affection among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion; and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate repreſentation of all the people of Ireland. I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on, or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation." (a)

From

"(a) The alteration of this teſt appears from the evidence of Dr. "Mc'Nevin before the ſecret committee of the houſe of Lords, 7th Auguſt "1798, to have been made for the purpoſe of reconciling *reformers*, "and *republicans*; the principle of *reform* having been relinquiſhed "aud *republicaniſm* determined on.—That gentlemans evidence was "ſubſtantially as follows."

"About September or October 1796, I became a member of the cloſe "ſociety of United Iriſhmen. It conſiſted of ſocieties at firſt compoſed of "36 members; afterwards theſe ſocieties were reduced to 12 members, "each ſociety of 12 choſe a ſecretary and generally a treaſurer.—The "ſecretaries of five ſocieties formed a lower baronial committee; out of "each of the lower baronial committees, one perſon was choſen to be a "member of the upper baronial; each of the upper baronials conſiſted of "ten members thus choſen. The next ſuperior committees were, in po-"pulous towns, district committees; and in counties, county committees; "theſe were compoſed of one member elected from each baronial. The "next ſuperior committees were, the provincial committees; compoſed of "two members, ſometimes three, elected from each county committee. "The provincial committees elected 5 perſons by ballot; the ſecretary "examined the ballots, and reported to the perſons elected their appoint-"ment, but made no report of the election to the provincials, who were "thus kept in ignorance of the perſons who compoſed the executive. The "executive had the command of the whole body thus organized. One "member of the executive communicated with one member of the pro-"vincial committee, he with the ſecretary of the county committee, he, "in like manner, with the ſecretaries of the baronials, and theſe ſecre-"taries with thoſe of the ſubordinate ſocieties.—The organization origi-"nally, was purely a civil organization; but I believe it was military in "Ulſter,

From the societies which had been eſtabliſhed in Dublin in 1797, many ſimilar ſocieties were formed through different parts of the kingdom; and the country was in ſuch a diſturbed ſtate in 1793, that it was thought neceſſary to make a parliamentary enquiry into the cauſes of it:—

"Ulſter, about the latter end of 1796,—In the military organization, the "ſecretary of the ſociety of 12 was the petty officer, that is, ſerjeant or "corporal: The delegate of five ſocieties to a lower baronial, was "uſually the captain, and thus had 60 men under his command; and the "delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or diſtrict committee, was "uſually the colonel: Thus a battalion was compoſed of 600 men. The "colonels of each county ſent in the names of three perſons to the execu-"tive, one of whom was appointed, by the executive, adjutant-general of "the county: his duty was to receive and communicate all military or-"ders from the executive. Every member of the ſociety paid a monthly "ſubſcription: and this fund was applied to the ſupport of priſoners in "gaol, to defend them on their trials, and to extend the union. The "general direction was, for each perſon to arm himſelf; ſuch as could af-"ford it, with fire arms and ammunition; others with pikes. The object "of the ſyſtem was to effect a revolution, and eſtabliſh a republic. The "military organization began in Leinſter in the beginning or middle of 1797. "In April or May 1797, a plan of inſurrection for the North was formed, "and heads drawn up in writing; but it was ſoon given up, and the writ-"ing deſtroyed. Previous to 1796, ſome perſons had gone from hence to "France on account of their political opinions; Early in 1796, a letter "came from one of them ſtating, that the ſituation of this country had been "repreſented to the directory of the French republic, who had promſed to "invade Ireland, for the purpoſe of ſeparating it from Great Britain. This "letter was taken into ſerious conſideration by the Iriſh executive early in "1796, and an anſwer was ſent in April that year, accepting the propoſal, "on condition that they ſhould come as allies, to act under the directions "of the projected revolutionary government, as Rochambeau did in Ame-"rica; that they ſhould be paid the expences of the expedition, and their "troops receive Iriſh pay whilſt they acted here. This anſwer was ſent "to Paris by a ſpecial meſſenger; and the French directory promiſed "that the ſuccours thus demanded ſhould be ſent. About October or No-"vember 1796, a meſſenger came from France to the Iriſh directory with "intelligence, that the promiſed ſuccours might be ſpeedily expected, and "deſiring to know the state of preparation of this country. The force to be "ſent by France was stated to be 15,000 men, and a great quantity of arms and

it :—In conſequence of which, a report was made from a ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, ſtating ſubſtantially as follows.—That the people then called *defenders*, were very different from thoſe who originally aſſumed the appellation ; and were all (as far as the committee could diſcover) of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion ; in general, poor, ignorant, labouring men, ſworn to ſecrecy, and impreſſed with an opinion that they were aſſiſting the catholic cauſe :—that, in other reſpects, they did not appear to have any diſtinct particular object in view ; but talked of being relieved

" and ammunition ; and I think if they had landed when they came to " Bantry, an inſurrection would have taken place in the north of Ireland. " The next communication of conſequence, was in June 1797, when an " accredited perſon went from hence to communicate with the French di- " rectory at their deſire : He went by Hamburgh, where he ſaw the " French minister, who made ſome difficulty about giving him a paſſport, " and demanded a memoir containing his inſtructions ; which was ac- " cordingly written by the accredited perſon, and given to the French " minister, under the impreſſion that the paſſport would not be granted. " The memoir was written in Engliſh, and contained the objects of his " miſſion, according to the inſtructions which he had received from the " executive directory of the Iriſh union. It began by ſtating, that the " appearance of the French in Bantry bay had encouraged the leaſt con- " fident of the Iriſh in the hope of throwing off the yoke of England, with " the aſſiſtance of France : That the event of that expedition, had proved " the facility of invading Ireland : That in the event of a ſecond expe- " dition, if the object was to take Cork, Oyster Haven would be the beſt " place of debarkation : and it ſtated the precautions which had been " taken for defence, by throwing up works at Bantry, Fermoy and Mal- " low : It further ſtated, that the ſyſtem of united Iriſhmen had made a " rapid progreſs in the county of Cork, and that Bandon was become a " ſecond Belfast : That the ſyſtem had made great progreſs in other " counties, and that the people were now well inclined to aſſiſt the French : " That 150,000 United Iriſhmen were organized and enrolled in Ulster, " a great part of them regimented, and one-third ready to march out of the " province : it detailed the number of the king's forces in Ulster, and their " ſtations : Recommended Lough Swilly as a place of debarkation in the " North ; and ſtated that the people in the peninſula of Donegal would " join the French : It ſtated alſo, the ſtrength of the garriſon of London- derry,

relieved from hearth-money, tithes, county ceſſes, and of lowering their rents. That they firſt appeared in the county of Louth in conſiderable bodies, in the month of April, in that year, ſeveral of them being armed: that they aſſembled moſtly in the night; and forced into the houſes of Proteſtants, and took from them their arms. That the diſorders ſoon ſpread to the counties of Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and other parts adjacent:—At firſt they took nothing but arms; but afterwards they plundered the houſes of every thing they could find. Their meaſures appear to have been concerted and conducted with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and a degree of regularity and ſyſtem not uſual

" derry, and that one regiment, which made a part of it, was ſuppoſed " to be diſaffected to the king of Great Britain: It mentioned Killybegs, " alſo, as a good place of debarkation; and ſtated, that the counties of " Tyrone, Fermanagh and Monaghan, were amongſt the beſt affected to " the cauſe: in caſe of a landing at Killybegs, it recommended a diverſion " at Sligo; and ſtated that a force of 10,000 United Iriſhmen might be " collected to fall upon Enniskillen, which commanded the paſs of Lough- " Erne: That it was eaſy to enter the bay of Galway, but very difficult to " get out of it. That the counties of Louth, Armagh, Weſtmeath, Kildare, " King's County, and city of Dublin, were the beſt organized: That the " Catholic prieſts had ceaſed to be alarmed at the calumnies which had " been propagated of French irreligion, and were well affected to the cauſe: " That ſome of them had rendered great ſervice in propagating, with " diſcreet zeal, the ſyſtem of the Iriſh union: It declared, that the peo- " ple of Ireland had a lively ſenſe of gratitude to France for the part which " ſhe took, and alſo to Spain, for the intereſt which ſhe felt in the affairs " of Ireland: it engaged, on the part of the Iriſh national directory, to " reimburſe the expences of France in the expedition which had failed, and " of any other which might be undertaken: The number of troops de- " manded was a force not exceeding 10,000, nor leſs than 5,000 men: It " ſtated, that a brigade of Engliſh artillery had been already ſent over, and " that a large body of troops would probably be ſent from Great Britain " if Ireland was attacked: a conſiderable quantity of artillery and ammuni- " tion, with a large ſtaff and body of engineers, and as many Iriſh officers " as poſſible, whoſe fidelity they were aſſured of, were demanded as neceſ- " ſary to accompany the expedition: A recommendation was given to ſe- parate the Iriſh ſeamen who were priſoners of war from the Britiſh, ſup- poſing

uſeal in people of ſuch mean condition, and as if directed by men of ſuperior rank.—Sums of money to a conſiderable amount, were levied upon the Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom, by ſubſcriptions and collections at their chapels and elſewhere; and ſeveral inflammatory papers diſperſed through the country, to encourage their proceedings. That an unuſual ferment had for ſome months diſturbed ſeveral parts of the north, particularly the town of Belfaſt, and the county of Antrim; which was encouraged by ſeditious publications iſſued from certain ſocieties

"poſing the former would be ready to join in an expedition to free their "country: It further recommended a proclamation to be publiſhed by "the French general on his arrival here, that the French came as allies to "deliver the country, not to conquer it: It alſo recommended to the direc- "tory of the French republic, to make the independence of Ireland an in- "diſpenſable condition of the treaty of peace then depending at Liſle; and "ſtated, that a proceeding ſo authentic could not be diſguiſed or miſrepre- "ſented, and would very much encourage the people of Ireland to perſiſt in "their exertions to atchieve a revolution: It contained alſo an aſſurance, "that the Iriſh militia would join the French, if they landed in conſiderable "force. Immediately after this memoir was given to the French miniſter, "a paſſport was granted to the writer of it to go to Paris, where he had ſe- "veral conferences with perſons in authority, ſome of them members of the "directory: The object of theſe conferences was, to obtain the ſame aſ- "ſurances of ſuccours from them that their agents had before given to "the executive directory of the Iriſh union. The negociation for peace "was then going on at Liſle: He was told by perſons in authority, that "they did not think the Engliſh cabinet ſincere; but that if France could "get the terms ſhe had a right to expect, the directory would make peace. "A ſecond memoir was preſented at Paris by the ſame perſon ſoon after "his arrival there; it's object was, to impreſs on the directory the neceſ- "ſity of expediting the armament of Ireland, and of inſiſting on the inde- "pendence of Ireland as an indiſpenſable condition of any treaty of peace, "by every argument which the writer coulduſe. After the breaking off "the negociation, and LordMalmſbury's return to England, aſſurances "were given to the Iriſh executive directory, that the French government "would ſend a new expedition to Ireland, and that they never would a- "bandon her till ſhe was ſeparated from Great Britain; and theſe aſſur- "ances have been ſince renewed."

cieties of men in Belfaſt and Dublin, calling themſelves committees, and carrying on a conſtant correſpondence. The conduct of the French was recommended to public view, as an example of imitation; and expectations held up of their aſſiſtance, by a deſcent upon this kingdom. —That military aſſociations had been newly levied and arrayed; and a body of men aſſociated themſelves in Dublin, under the title of the *firſt national battalion*, whoſe uniform was copied from the French; green turned up with white, white waiſtcoat and ſtriped trowſers, gilt buttons, impreſſed with a harp, and letters importing, "*firſt national battalion*;" no crown, but a device over the harp, of a *cap of liberty* upon a *pike*. The declared object of theſe military bodies was, to procure a reform in parliament; but the obvious intention appeared to be, to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both!

As the different reports which have been ſince made on this ſubject, by the ſecret committees of both houſes of parliament, furniſh us with the fulleſt information reſpecting the ſecret progreſs of the rebellion, we ſhall extract from them whatever is neceſſary for the purpoſe, in order that our ſtatement of facts may be accompanied with unqueſtionable authority.

By the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons in 1797, it appears that conſiderable preparations had been then made for general inſurrection. The ſocieties of *united Iriſhmen* were numerous; their ſyſtem had become perfectly military,—*pikes* and other weapons of deſtruction were ſecretly collected by them, with a very great quantity of ammunition, and even ſome field-pieces.— A circumſtance took place in that year, which occaſioned a moſt important diſcovery. On the 14th of April, col. Barber, lieut. Elliſon of the artillery, and ſome others, having

having received information that ſome committees of united men, were to aſſemble at the houſe of John Alexander, in the town of Belfaſt; they entered the houſe and ſeized ſeveral perſons, as alſo ſeveral papers, (belonging to one of theſe committees), that had been there concealed. Theſe papers are referred to by the report already mentioned, and diſcloſe the nature and regulations of the ſociety;—they contain the returns made of the ſtate and ſtrength of the united men in different diſtricts, and the ſums of money collected, and how applied. One of them ſtates the number of men then in arms, as follows; Antrim, 22,922,—Down, 16000,—Derry, 10,000,—Tyrone, 6,860,—Armagh, 4000,—Monaghan, 3,020,—Donegal, 5,000,—Cavan, 1,000,—Meath, 1,776,—Fermanagh, 2,000,—Louth, 2,060,—*total men*, 72,206;—In the town of Belfaſt alone, is ſtated to have been 2639 men,—526 guns,—399 bayonets,—88 piſtols,—597 pikes,—12,130 ball-cartridges,—15,953 balls,—566 lbs. of powder,—6 cannon,—1 mortar. Several other returns of the like kind were diſcovered, which cannot here be inſerted; but it appears from the whole, that the ſums of money collected, were rather inconſiderable.

The whole ſucceſs of this conſpiracy, and the expectation of its leaders depended upon the ſuccours to be received from France:—One of the papers alluded to, expreſsly ſays,—"our friends are expected ſoon into Bantry;" and adds,—"ſet your face againſt bank notes and exciſe buſineſs, as that is the beſt means to harraſs the government." The information of Charlis Mc'Fillin, given on oath, before Sir G. F. Hill, bart. a magiſtrate of Londonderry, mentions that foreign aid was immediately expected, and that the United Iriſhmen were to hold themſelves in readineſs to riſe. He aſſerted, that he was ſworn to become a United Iriſhman, about the month of June, 1796; that according to the conſtitution of United Iriſhmen,

men, each ſociety muſt conſiſt of at leaſt ſeven perſons; that it required delegates from at leaſt three ſocieties to make a baronial committee, and that two delegates from each baronial committee formed a county committee; and two or three delegates from each county committee formed the provincial committee. That there was an executive directory, which conſiſted of twenty-five perſons, one of whom always attended the provincial meeting, in order to communicate intelligence, and give orders to be carried by the members of the provincial meeting, to their next county meeting, and from the county meeting to the baronial, and from theſe to the loweſt ſocieties. Each committee had a treaſurer and a ſecretary; and it was the buſineſs of the treaſurer of the loweſt ſociety, to collect ſo much money per week from each member, which was paid by the different delegates of the different ſocieties, progreſſively from one to the other, 'till it reaches the provincial committee, who then paid the money to the executive directory, who always attended for the purpoſe; and once in every three months the directory gave an account to the provincial of the manner in which the former ſums received have been diſpoſed of. Returns likewiſe of arms, ammunition and men were made, from the loweſt ſociety to the delegates, through the different committees, the baronial, the county and the provincial, and from this laſt to the executive directory, who always attended the provincial committee.

All the meaſures taken by government to ſuppreſs inſurrection proved for ſome time ineffectual;—neither threatenings, or offers of forgiveneſs, had their due influence on the deluded multitude;—on the contrary, a general inſurrection in Ulſter was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county arranged. The intention tranſpired, and was defeated by the active exertions of the army: altho' a partial riſing did take place near the mountains

in

in the county of Down; where the insurgents, finding themselves unsupported, soon dispersed. After this event, the arms of the disaffected were collected in great numbers throughout the province; and many persons came forward to take the benefit of the proclamation of pardon, which was extended for another month. Tranquillity now seemed to return:—the provinces of Munster and Connaught manifested a loyal disposition; many societies of United Irishmen discontinued their meetings; and the strength of the organization (exclusively of Ulster) lay chiefly in the metropolis and it's neighbouring counties, Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Westmeath, and the King's county. The active leaders, however, of this dreadful conspiracy, were not idle or intimidated. They determined to direct all their exertions to the propagation of their system in those provinces which had hitherto been but partially infected. With this view, emissaries were sent into the south and west in great numbers; who, at last, proved too successful in introducing the same disturbances in Munster, with which the northern province had been so severely visited.

In order to engage the peasantry in the southern counties, particularly Waterford and Cork, more earnestly in their cause, the United Irishmen, in urging their general principles, dwelt, with peculiar energy, on the oppressiveness of tythes, and the old *whiteboy* practices of burning corn, and houghing the cattle of those against whom their resentment was dictated, were very generally practised in those counties. The better also to excite the resentment of the Romanists, fabricated and false tests were represented as having been taken to exterminate them, and were industriously disseminated through the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. Reports were frequently circulated amongst the ignorant of that denomination, that large bodies of men were approaching to put

them to death:—The seduction of the military was also attempted; and printed papers circulated amongst the privates and non-commissioned officers, urging them to insubordination and revolt.

So early as 1796, the revolutionists received intimation from one of their society (then at Paris) that the state of this country had been represented to the government of France in such a manner, as to induce them to resolve on sending a force to Ireland, for the purpose of enabling it to separate itself from Great Britain; and an extraordinary meeting of the executive of the union was convened, to take the proposal into consideration. The result of their deliberations was, to accept of the assistance thus held out to them by the French directory. An agent was accordingly dispatched to acquaint the directory with this determination, who received assurances that the French armament should be sent as speedily as it could be prepared. Accordingly, a messenger from the French republic arrived here in October, 1796, to communicate to the leaders of the conspiracy, that the French intended to invade this kingdom speedily with 1500 men, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition: which attempt was actually made in the month of December following, when a French fleet, with a large body of troops on board, arrived at *Bantry-bay*:——happily, however, their designs were, at this time, frustrated.

From the failure of this expedition, until the beginning of the ensuing year, the disaffected seemed to expect the immediate return of the enemy: but in the spring of 1797, the executive of the union, thinking the French dilatory in their preparations, dispatched a confidential person to press for assistance. The northern part of the kingdom became now anxious and impatient for insurrection; and the executive of the union, fearing a premature rising might

might take place, sent a second agent to France still more warmly to urge a speedy assistance. This agent was authorised to give France assurances of being repaid the full expences of any future armament she might send to Ireland, as well as of the last which had miscarried; the sum to be raised by the confiscation of the lands of the church, and of the property of their opposers. He was also charged to negociate, if possible, a loan on the above security to the amount of half a million, or at least £300,000, for the immediate purposes of the union; and directions were given him, that in case *France* could not be prevailed on to advance so large a sum, he should address himself to the crown of *Spain* for that purpose.

However desirous the executive of the union were of obtaining assistance in men, arms and money, they were yet averse to a greater force being sent than might enable them to subvert the government, and retain the power of the country in their own hands: but the French were wholly disinclined to send any force here which might not, from it's magnitude, give them hopes of conquering the kingdom, and retaining it afterwards in subjection to themselves.

Previous to this mission from Ireland, a confidential person was sent by the French directory to collect information respecting the state of this country; but failing to obtain the necessary passports in London for coming over here, he wrote to request, that a person might be sent from hence to meet him in London. On this occasion, it is said, the late *Lord Edward Fitzgerald* was deputed to furnish the French agent with every necessary intelligence. The directory, on their part, gave the Irish agents sent to Paris, the strongest assurances of support; and did accordingly, during the summer, make preparations of a very extensive

nature, both at the *Texel* and at *Breſt*, for the invaſion of Ireland: and in the autumn following, the executive of the union received intelligence, that the troops were actually embarked at the *Texel*, and only waited for a favourable wind.

In the beginning of October, when the Dutch fleet was on the point of ſailing, the approach of the enemy was announced to the ſocieties as at hand; the troops had been actually on board, commanded by general *Daendells*, but were ſuddenly diſembarked. But the Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral (as is generally believed) was, at the inſtance of the French government, obliged to put to ſea; which led to admiral Duncan's memorable victory of the 11th of October, 1797.

The leaders of the North, and thoſe of Leinſter, differed materially in opinion: the latter were not inclined for immediate inſurrection; the former had grown impatient; and wiſhed to puſh matters forward, without waiting any longer for foreign aſſiſtance. Theſe now propoſed acting without the approbation of the Leinſter delegates; and their plan was, to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, ordnance ſtores, magazine, &c. and to truſt to the mob of Dublin for aſſiſtance. From ſome military precautions at that time adopted in the garriſon, this plan was abandoned. (a)

In

(a) That the inſurgents of Ulſter intended an actual riſing in 1797, appears from ſeveral papers which were ſeized, and are now publiſhed in the 14th appendix to the *report* of the houſe of commons in 1798: ſtating, that on the 17th of June, 1797, a meeting of colonels was held for the county of Down, at *Saintfield*; when one of them told the captains of his regiment, that it was the determination of the national committee to make a riſing in the next week; and deſired them to go home, and cauſe their men to prepare their arms. On the fifth of that month, meſſages paſſed between the adjutant-general of Down and the colonels; they urged the

In February, 1798, a military committee was appointed by the executive; and detailed military inſtructions were iſſued by the adjutant-generals of the union; by which they were required, to report the ſtate of the rebel regiments within their diſtricts; the number of miles, the roads, rivers, bridges and fords; the military poſitions; the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops; to communicate the movements of the king's troops; to announce the firſt appearance of the French; and immediately to collect their force, &c. &c.

Scarcely a night now paſſed, without numerous murders: In many places, the loyal inhabitants were obliged to fly for ſhelter into the garriſon towns; and, in open day, about 800 inſurgents, principally mounted, inveſted the town of *Cahir*, in the county of Tipperary; held poſſeſſion of it, until they had made regular ſearch in every houſe; and carried off, in triumph, all the arms and ammunition they could find.

The prudent meaſures taken by government baffled, however, for ſome time, the deſigns of the inſurgents; and from the accurate information that was received, ſeveral of the Leinſter provincial committee were, on the 12th of March following, arreſted, and their papers ſeized, at the houſe of Mr. *Oliver Bond*, in Bridge-ſtreet, Dublin. Theſe papers diſcovered a plan for a general riſing; the outline of which was, to ſurpriſe the metropolis, the camp then at *Laughlinſtown*, and the artillery ſtationed at *Chapelizod*, on the ſame night; in which attack, the counties

the adjutant-general to put the county of Down in motion, or, that if he declined it, they would find a man who could do ſo. A meſſage was alſo received, and delivered upon oath, that the county of Antrim intended ſeizing on the magiſtrates aſſembled at Antrim at the Seſſions, as hoſtages, at the beginning of their riſing.

counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare were to co-operate. The insurrection being commenced, (the signal for announcing which, was to be the detention of the mail coaches) it was expected the north and south would also rise. The reader may find a particular detail of the circumstance above stated, with corroborative proofs, in the printed report of the secret committee of the house of commons, 1798, and the several appendixes thereto annexed.

On the 11th of May, the lord lieutenant and council issued a proclamation for the apprehension of Lord *Edward Fitzgerald*; information having been received, that he was principally concerned in the rebellion; and on the 19th, he was taken into custody by W. B. Swan, esq; assisted by Cap. Ryan of the yeomanry, and deputy town-major Sirr. Against this attempt, his lordship made such a vigorous resistance, that both Captain Ryan and Lord Edward shortly after died of the wounds they had mutually received. Mr. Swan was also dangerously wounded by Lord Edward, but providentially recovered. This arrest was made at the house of Mr. *Murphy*, a feather-merchant, in *Thomas-street*, Dublin. Captain Ryan died the 30th of May; and Lord Edward expired, in great agony, on the 3d of June following.

On the 21st of May, an official letter from Lord *Castlereagh* was received by the Lord Mayor, as follows:

"I am directed by the lord lieutenant to inform your lordship, that the disaffected in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, have been daring enough to form a plan for the purpose of possessing themselves, in the course of the present week, of the metropolis; and of seizing the executive government, and those of authority within the city. His excellency, fully informed of their designs, has made the

the neceſſary military arrangements for completely defeating their deſperate purpoſe, and for giving the fulleſt ſecurity to the perſons and property of the loyal and well-diſpoſed. His excellency, nevertheleſs, feels it his duty to intimate their traitorous deſigns to your lordſhip; and relies, that, in conjunction with the magiſtracy and the king's loyal ſubjects, you will exert the utmoſt poſſible energy in preſerving tranquillity within the bounds of the metropolis; that your lordſhip, without loſs of time, will cauſe the ſtricteſt ſearch to be made for concealed arms; and adopt ſuch meaſures of general precaution, as ſhall appear beſt calculated to defeat the deſigns of the rebellious againſt the king's government and our invaluable conſtitution." In conſequence of this letter, a cautionary notice was circulated by the chief magiſtrate, requeſting his fellow-citizens to keep within their houſes as much as poſſible, after ſun-ſet, in that time of peril, as the ſtreets ſhould be kept as clear as poſſible, in caſe any tumult or riſing to ſupport rebellion ſhould be attempted, in order that the troops might act with effect, in caſe of any diſturbance, without injuring the innocent.

Thus far, as to the private proceedings of the conſpirators, previous to the public inſurrection, which was now about to take place.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Commencement of the rebellion in 1798.—*Diſturbances at Santry.—Cromlin.—Tullagh.—Saggard.—Naas.—Baltinglaſs.—Proſperous.—Clain.—Kilcullen.—Hacketſtown.—Dunlavin.—Engagement at Tara Hill.—Proclamation from the Lord Lieutenant and council.—Notice from the magiſtrates of Dublin to its inhabitants.—Addreſs from the loyal Roman Catholics to thoſe concerned in the rebellion.*

THE rebellion of 1798 broke out on the 23d of May; on the night of which, the *northern* mail-coach was ſtopped at *Santry*, (within a few miles of *Dublin*) by means of cars which were placed in a certain part of the road, ſo as to obſtruct the paſſage of the coach, which having arrived at this point, was ſurrounded by ſome armed perſons, who ſaid they did not intend any harm, but merely wiſhed to prevent the contents of the mail from falling into the hands of a great body of inſurgents, that were a little further on. The coachman and guard, conceived by ſuch language, that their obſtruction proceeded from no evil deſign, and made no reſiſtance; they with the paſſengers were perſuaded to go into a houſe near the road, and were undeceived only by ſeeing the coach in a few moments in flames. In the adjacent fields a body of the rebels, amounting to about 1000, were aſſembled: no injury was done to the paſſengers; and a ſmall remnant of the letters

was

was brought half-burnt to the poſt-office —The Connaught mail was alſo ſtopped between Lucan and Leixlip, broken to pieces, and the letters deſtroyed.

This was the ſignal for inſurrection : and accordingly on the following day, a large body of inſurgents aſſembled between Crumlin and Tallagh, in the neighbourhood of Saggard, all armed, and moſt of them well mounted : they were oppoſed by the yeomanry in that quarter ; who fired upon them, but without effect, and were obliged to retreat. A reinforcement of cavalry, (the 5th dragoons, commanded by Lord Roden) ſome time after arrived, between whom and the inſurgents a conflict enſued, in which three of the latter were killed, and about 30 taken priſoners. A quantity of pikes were alſo taken, and two carts. Some of the dead bodies were brought to Dublin, and expoſed, during the whole of that day in the caſtle-yard : and the 5th dragoons, in returning to camp, carried through the city, as trophies, the horſe and boots belonging to one of the deceaſed. The inſurgents were armed with piſtols, ſwords, blunderbuſſes, and pikes.

Every neceſſary precaution was now taken for the defence of the metropolis. The ſeveral corps of yeomanry were ſtationed at alarm poſts ; cannon were placed in the avenues leading to the caſtle ; the military preparations wore the moſt awful appearance ; and expreſſes continually arrived, giving the intelligence of thoſe diſturbances which daily took place in different parts of the kingdom.

We ſhall endeavour to ſtate theſe partial inſurrections, as correctly as poſſible, in the order of time in which they occurred, and thereby ſhew the gradual proceedings of the rebels.

On

May, 25*th*. On this day, at about half past two o'clock in the morning, the rebels made a regular attack upon the town of Naas, of which the following account is given by Lord *Gosford* and Major *Wardle*, in a letter to Lieutenant-general *Lake*. "A dragoon from an outpost came in, and informed Major *Wardle* of the Antient British, that a very considerable armed body was approaching rapidly upon the town; the whole garrison were instantly under arms, and took their position according to a plan previously formed, in case of such an event happening, They made an attack upon our troops posted near the gaol, with great violence, but were repulsed: they then made a general attack in almost every direction, as they had got possession of almost every avenue into the town: They continued to engage the troops for near three quarters of an hour, when they gave way, and fled on all sides. The cavalry immediately took advantage of their confusion, charged in almost every direction, and killed a great number of them." It appears that the rebels at this place were above 1000 strong; about 30 of them were killed in the streets, and above 100 in the fields; a great quantity of arms and pikes were taken; and much more was shortly afterwards found in pits near the town.

The same day, other attacks were made by the rebels in different parts of the counties of Kildare and Wicklow. About one o'clock they appeared in the neighbourhood of *Baltinglass*, to the amount of at least four or five hundred. Thirty of the Antrim militia, under the command of Lieutenant *Macauley* and Cornet *Love*, with twenty of the 9th dragoons, were sent to attack them; but the instant that they were advancing upon them in the town of *Stratford* upon *Slaney*, Captain *Stratford* appeared at the other end of the town, with part of his corps: the rebels were attacked on both sides, and completely routed, leaving near

200

200 men killed, beſides many wounded, amongſt thoſe who had made their eſcape.

The town of *Proſperous* alſo ſuffered conſiderably; at which place, a party of the Cork militia, under Captain *Swayne*, was ſtationed. Several of the rebels had, on the day before, made a ſurrender of their pikes to Captain *Swayne*, under a pretence of returning to their allegiance; but on the 24th, the barrack was attacked, and ſet on fire; where Captain Swayne, and the whole detachment being locked up, were inhumanly deſtroyed. Part of this town belonged to Mr. Stamer, who was alſo put to death by the inſurgents; as was alſo Mr. Brewer, a reſpectable manufacturer, whoſe body was mangled with ſavage barbarity: They alſo maſſacreed a poor old man, upwards of ſeventy years of age, who had ſerved as a ſergeant in his Majeſty's forces: and after committing theſe cruel atrocities, they exclaimed,—"*where are the hereties? down with the heretics!*"

At Clain, an action took place; where the rebels were defeated by a party of the army and Mr. *Griffith's* yeomanry, who behaved with the greateſt ſpirit. A ſmall party of the Suffolk Fencibles, moving from *Barretſtown* to *Kildare*, were attacked in a narrow paſs by a conſiderable force, and loſt all their baggage. In the neighbourhood of *Lucan*, the inſurgents aſſembled with pikes, &c. but a party of the military fell upon them, and routed them with great ſlaughter, leaving 90 of them dead on the field. They likewiſe aſſembled near *Lusk*, and proceeded to commit depredations: they ſurpriſed and attacked ten men of the Fermanagh militia, but were at length routed, with the loſs of 50 men killed, and a number taken priſoners. At Collon alſo, where they had collected in great force, they were completely routed. The town of Ballimore was attacked; and at firſt the 9th dragoons were ſomewhat checked;

checked: however, they rallied, and beat the insurgents; but Captain *M'Farland* of the *Tyrone*, was unfortunately killed.

A principal conflict now took place near *Kilcullen*, concerning which, the following particulars are extracted from a letter of Lieutenant-general Dundas to Lord Visc. Castlereagh, dated 25th of May, 1798. "About 2 o'clock P. M. yesterday, I marched out again to attack the rebels, who had assembled in great force on the north side of the *Liffey*, and were advancing toward Kilcullen-bridge, they occupied the hills on the left of the road leading to Dublin, the road itself, and the fields, high inclosed on the right. The attack began between three and four—was made with great gallantry; the infantry forcing the enemy on the road, and driving them from the hills on the left; the cavalry, with equal success, cutting off their retreat:—The affair ended soon after four; the slaughter was considerable for such an action; 130 lay dead, no prisoners: his Majesty's troops did not suffer in either killed or wounded. The rebels left great quantities of arms behind them, and fled in all directions. General Welford, from Kildare, joined me last night. Captain La' Touche's corps of yeomanry distinguished themselves in a high stile."

Such were the pleasing accounts received of the defeat of the rebels in the different places before mentioned. At the borders of the county of Dublin, however, near Dunboyne, a rebel party assembled, who got possession of some military baggage, and committed many outrages. Several of them also appeared in the neighbourhood of Clondalkin, and about Rathfarnham: these were pursued and overtaken by a party of the military; many of them were killed, and others made prisoners: the bodies of three of the most active and desperate of them, were brought to Dublin; they were hung up in Barrack-street

for

for ſeveral hours, with the pikes which they carried affixed to them; and exhibited the moſt dreadful examples of that rebellious ſpirit which had been infuſed into theſe deluded people.

May, 25*th*. The inſurgents approached towards Hacketſtown, in conſequence of which, Lieu. Gardiner, with the men under his command, and a party of yeomanry, commanded by Captain Hardy, went out to meet them. Having reconnoitred their force, which amounted to between three and four thouſand, they took poſt on the hill under the church; and when the rebels came tolerably near, the officers and men made a feint, and retreated into the barrack: the rebels, ſeeing this, came forward with a great ſhout, imagining they were certain of victory; but in a few minutes, Captain Hume came up with a party of his troop, and inſtantly charged them, on which they retreated: a general purſuit took place, and ſo compleat was the rout, that above 500 of the miſcreants lay dead on the field. The conduct of Captain Hume on this occaſion, merited the higheſt applauſe; for though his right arm was in a ſling, owing to a very ſevere fall from his horſe, which prevented his uſing his ſword, he headed his men with gallantry, and acted with a ſpirit which ſurpriſed every one, conſidering his ſituation*. On the part of the loyaliſts, not one man was in the leaſt injured, except one ſoldier who received a contuſion in his arm; and Lieutenant Gardiner, who received a ſevere blow of a ſtone on the breaſt from a villain whoſe life he had juſt ſaved, and who was thereupon, ſhot dead upon the ſpot.

The ſame day, a conſiderable body of the inſurgents were defeated near Dunlavin, with the loſs of near 300. A party of them alſo, to the amount of ſeven hundreds, were

* This gentleman was ſince cruelly murdered by the inſurgents.

were attacked by a detachment of militia and yeomanry, and driven into the town of Baltinglaſs, with the loſs of about 150 men.

May, 26th. A great number of the rebels were now collected at *Tara-hill*; and the proceedings againſt them at this place are thus ſtated, in a letter from Captain Scobie of the Reay Fencibles to Lieutenant-general Lake, dated Dunſhaughlin, May the 27th. "The diviſion conſiſting of five companies of his Majeſty's Reay regiment of fencible infantry, which I have the honor to command, arrived here yeſterday morning, according to route, accompanied by Lord Fingal's troop of yeoman cavalry, Captain Preſton's troop of cavalry, Lower-Kells do. and Captain Molloy's company of yeoman infantry. At half paſt three P. M, I was informed that a conſiderable force of the rebel inſurgents had taken ſtation on Tara-hill; I inſtantly detached three companies of our diviſion, with one field piece, and the above corps of yeomanry, to the ſpot, under the command of Captain M'Lean of the Reay's; the iſſue of which anſwered my moſt ſanguine expectation. The rebels fled in all directions; 350 were found dead in the field this morning, among whom is their commander, in full uniform. Our loſs is inconſiderable; being 9 rank and file killed, and 16 rank and file wounded."

As this was an action of ſome importance, we ſhall ſtate the circumſtances more in detail from the account given by Sir Richard Muſgrave in his hiſtory of the rebellion in Ireland, which is related in the following words.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the officers of the Navan cavalry, John Preſton, Eſq; captain; Philip Barry, Lieutenant, wrote a letter to the officer commanding the garriſon at Kells, to requeſt that he would ſend them ſuch troops as he could ſpare for their

their protection; as a private of captain Gorges's yeomanry had arrived there, and informed them of the atrocities committed at Dunboyne and Dunshaughlin; and that the rebels had planted the tree of liberty at the latter.

Captain Molloy, who commanded at Kells, on receiving that intelligence, marched the yeomen cavalry and infantry of that town, to relieve them; but finding on his arrival there, that the town was not immediately threatened with an attack, he returned to Kells, for the protection of its inhabitants, and of a large depot of ammunition in that town, which lay exposed in his absence.

It was then determined, that the Kells cavalry, with a detachment of the Navan troop, should proceed towards Dunshaughlin, and reconnoitre the enemy; and they having discovered that the mass of the people were in a state of insurrection, and were committing various enormities, Mr. Barry, lieutenant of the latter, wrote the following letter to captain Molloy, at Kells:

"Sir,

"Prepare your yeomanry immediately, as an insurrection has appeared from Dublin to Dunshaughlin, and numbers have been murdered. Communicate this to all the other officers."

In consequence of this, Captain Molloy apprized the different yeomen officers of these alarming circumstances; and recommended to them to be in readiness. Captain Preston, commanding the Navan cavalry, having been informed that the Reay fencibles were to be in Navan on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, on their route to Dublin, resolved to join them, in hopes of being able to obtain their co-operation in attacking next day the rebels, whom he had

had reconnoitred in great force, at Dunſhaughlin; and they having complied, and all the yeomanry in the adjacent country having joined them, they proceeded at break-of-day, on the morning of the twenty-ſixth of May, from Navan, to attack the enemy at Dunſhaughlin.

On their arrival there, they found that the rebels had changed their poſition; and as they could not learn whither they had gone, the Reay fencibles, having reſolved to quit them, ſet out for Dublin, and the yeomanry determined to retire to their reſpective homes, which would have been fatal to the whole country, as the rebels would have ſpread univerſal deſolation.

Captain Preſton, now lord Tara, then followed the Reay fencibles, who had proceeded two miles on their march, and informed the commanding officer that he would engage to find out the rebels in two hours, if he would conſent to ſtay; but having refuſed to comply, he informed him, that he would proceed to Dublin, and obtain an order from the Lord Lieutenant for him to return, before he could proceed half way on his march; on which he conſented to return, and gave him two hundred and ten men, and one battalion gun, the whole commanded by captain Blanch; and they were joined by the yeomanry, commanded by Lord Fingal and Captain Preſton.

After going ſome time in queſt of the rebels, they found them very ſtrongly poſted on Tara-hill, where they had been four hours, and were about four thouſand in number; and the country people were flocking to them in great multitudes from every quarter. They plundered the houſes in all the adjacent country of proviſions of every kind, and were proceeding to cook their victuals, having lighted

near

"near forty fires. They hoisted white flags in their camps. The hill of Tara is very steep, and the upper part is surrounded by three circular Danish forts, with ramparts and fosses; and on the top lies the church-yard, surrounded with a wall, which the rebels regarded as their citadel, and considered as impregnable."

"The king's troops, including the yeomanry, might have amounted to about four hundred. As soon as the rebels perceived them, they put their hats on the tops of their pikes, sent forth some dreadful yells, and at the same time began to jump, and put themselves in various singular attitudes, as if bidding defiance to their adversaries. They then began to advance, firing at the same time, but in an irregularmanner"

"Our line of infantry advanced with the greatest coolness, and did not fire a shot until they were within fifty yards of them. One part of the cavalry, commanded by lord Fingal, was ordered to the right, the other to the left, to prevent our line from being outflanked, which the enemy endeavoured to accomplish. The rebels made three desperate onsets, and in the last laid hold of the cannon; but the officer who commanded the gun, having laid the match to it, before they could completely surround it, prostrated ten or twelve of the assailants, and dispersed the remainder. The Reay fencibles preserved their line, and fired with as much coolness as if they had been exercising on a field-day."

"They at length routed the rebels,* who fled in all directions, after having lost about four hundred in killed and wounded. In their flight, they threw away their arms

* In their pockets, popish prayer-books, beads, rosaries, crucifixes, pious ejaculations to our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and republican songs, were found, and scapulars on the bodies of many of them.

Sir R. *Musgrave.*

and ammunition, and every thing that could encumber them. We took three hundred horſes, all their provi-ſions, arms, ammunition and baggage, and eight of the Reay fencibles whom they had taken priſoners two days before, and whom they imployed to drill them.

" It was much to be lamented, that the brave Rea fencibles loſt twenty-ſix men in killed and wounded; and the Upper Kells infantry had one killed, and five wounded.

" The king's troops would have remained on the field all night, but that they had not a ſingle cartridge left, either for the gun or the ſmall arms. The priſoners, of whom they took a good many, informed our officers, that their intention was to have proceeded that night to plunder Navan, and then Kells, where there was a great quantity of ammunition, and little or no force to protect it; and that, when they had ſucceeded, they expected, according to a preconcerted plan, to have been joined by a great number of inſurgents from Meath, Weſtmeath, Louth, Monaghan and Cavan, and to have releaſed all the priſoners confined in Trim, where they would not have met with any oppoſition.

" So general an inſurrection might have been fatal to the kingdom, for the rebellion in Wexford and Kildare was raging with inextinguiſhable fury: It was ſtill deſtructive in Wicklow and Carlow, and the maſs of the people, in many parts of Leinſter and Munſter, were on the point of riſing.

" The garriſon of Dublin was ſo weak, and ſo much exhauſted by fatigue in the ſevere duty which they underwent, in endeavouring to prevent its diſaffected inhabitants from riſing, that they could not ſend any troops to the adjacent country.

" Part

" Part of the rebels who fled from Tara, retired to the bogs of Meath and Kidare, where they continued for three weeks to plunder and desolate the surrounding country.

" The earl of Fingal, who commanded the yeomanry in this action, shewed great spirit and courage in it; for which, and his noted loyalty and zeal in the service of his king and country, during the progress of the conspiracy and rebellion, he became so obnoxious to the disaffected in the county of Meath, that it was resolved to cut him off; and his assassination was to have been a signal for a general massacre of all the loyalists in that county.

" I think it right also to say, that Captain Molloy, who commanded the yeomen infantry, under lord Fingal, displayed the most steady and deliberate valour; and that the officers and privates under him fought with the coolness of veterans."—Thus far Sir R. Musgrave.

This insurrection now called for the prompt exertions of government to suppress it: accordingly the following proclamation was published by the Lord Lieutenant and council.

" Whereas a traitorous conspiracy existing within this kingdom, for the subversion of the authority of his Majesty and the parliament, and for the destruction of the established constitution and government, hath considerably extended itself, and hath broken out into acts of open violence and rebellion."

" We have therefore, by and with the advice of his Majesty's Privy Council, issued the most direct and positive orders to the officers commanding his Majesty's forces, to employ them with the utmost vigour and decision, for the immediate suppression thereof, and also to recover

the arms which have been traitorously forced from his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and to disarm the rebels, and all persons disaffected to his Majesty's government, by the most summary and effectual measures."

"And we do hereby strictly charge and command all his Majesty's peaceful and loyal subjects, on their allegiance, to aid and assist, to the utmost of their power, his Majesty's forces in the execution of their duty, to whom we have given it strictly in command to afford full protection to them, from all acts of violence which shall be attempted against their persons or properties."

The Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen of the city of Dublin, published the following notice.

"By the right hon. the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Justices of the peace for the county of the city of Dublin, at a petty sessions of the peace, held at the Session-house, in and for the county of said city, on Thursday, the 24th day of May, 1798, under and by virtue of an act of parliament, passed in the 26th year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled an act more effectually to suppress insurrections, and prevent the disturbance of the public peace."

"Whereas, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, by and with the advice of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, pursuant to said act of parliament, has by proclamation, bearing date the 19th instant, declared the said county of the City of Dublin to be in immediate danger of becoming in state of disturbance.

"Now, in pursuance of said act of parliament and proclamation, we the undersigned Justices at said Petty Sessions, do hereby notify, that said district of the county

of

of the city of Dublin has been ſo proclaimed : and we do command and require the inhabitants thereof to keep within their dwellings at all unſeaſonable times, between ſun-ſet and ſun-riſe. And we do hereby warn and caution them, that any perſon who ſhall within the county of ſaid city, be found in the ſtreets, highways, fields or elſewhere out of his dwelling or place of abode, at any time, from one hour after ſun-ſet until ſun-riſe, will be liable under ſaid act of parliament to be arreſted, and brought before two juſtices of the peace for the county of ſaid city, and examined by them, and unleſs ſuch perſon can prove to their ſatisfaction, that he was out of his houſe upon his lawful occaſions, ſuch perſon ſhall be deemed an idle and diſorderly perſon, and ſhall be tranſmitted by the warrant of ſuch juſtices to ſerve on board his Majeſty's navy. And every inhabitant or inmate, who ſhall upon ſearch be found abſent from his houſe, between the hours aforeſaid, will be deemed an idle and diſorderly perſon, and liable to the ſame penalties. And all perſons found aſſembled within ſaid diſtrict of the county of the city, in any houſe, in which malt or ſpirituous liquors are ſold, not being inmates thereof, or travellers, after the hour of nine at night, and before ſix in the morning, ſhall be liable to be deemed diſorderly perſons, and ſubject to the penalties above ſet forth. Given under our hands the day and year aforeſaid.

Aldermen,	*Aldermen.*
Tho. Fleming, Ld. Mayor	Wm. Worthington
William Walker, Rec.	John Sutton
Samuel Reed	Charles Thorp
W. Lightburne	Jacob Poole
William Alexander	Henry Hutton
John Roſe	Meredyth Jenkin
John Exſhaw	Lundy Foot
Henry Howiſon	James Vance

As perſons of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion have been repreſented by ſome, as the principal inſtigators of this horrid conſpiracy, it may not be improper, before we proceed farther in our narrative of the rebellion, to notice the following addreſs which was publiſhed by many of the Roman Catholic nobility, clergy &c. upon the occaſion.

To ſuch of the deluded people, now in rebellion againſt his Majeſty's government in this kingdom. as profeſs the Roman Catholic religion.

"The underſigned Roman Catholics of Ireland feel themſelves earneſtly called on, to remonſtrate with ſuch of the deluded people of that perſuaſion, as are now engaged in open rebellion againſt his Majeſty's government, on the wicked tendency and conſequences of the conduct which they have embraced. They apprehend, with equal horror and concern, that ſuch deluded men, in addition to the crime committed againſt the allegiance which they owe to his Majeſty, have in ſome inſtances attempted to give to their deſigns a colour of zeal for the religion which they profeſs. The underſigned profeſs equally with them the Roman Catholic religion: ſome of them are biſhops of that perſuaſion: others are heads of the leading families who profeſs that religion, and others are men of the ſame perſuaſion, who, by an honourable induſtry have, under the conſtitution now ſought to be ſubverted, raiſed themſelves to a ſituation which affords them, in the moſt extenſive ſenſe, all the comforts of life. The underſigned of each deſcription, concur in entreating ſuch of the deluded, who have taken up arms againſt the eſtabliſhed government, or entered into engagements tending to that effect, to return to their allegiance, and by relinquiſhing the treaſonable plan in which they are engaged, to entitle themſelves to that mercy which their lawful governors anxiouſly wiſh to extend to them: a contrary conduct will

will inevitably subject them to loss of life and property, and expose their families to ignominy and beggary, whilst at the same time, it will throw on the religion, of which they profess to be the advocates, the most indelible stain; on this point, the unfortunately deluded will do well to consider, whether the true interests and honour of the Roman Catholic Religion are likely to be most considered by the bishops of that persuasion, by the ancient families who profess that religion, and who have resisted every temptation to relinquish it, by men who at once professing it, and submitting to the present constitution, have arrived at a state of affluence which gratifies every wish; or by a set of desperate and profligate men, availing themselves of want of education and experience in those whom they seek to use as instruments for gratifying their own wicked and interested view :—At all events the undersigned feel themselves bound to rescue their names and as far as in them lies, the religion which they profess, from the ignominy which each would incur from an appearance of acquiescence in such criminal and irreligious conduct; and they hesitate not to declare, that the accomplishment of the views of the deluded of their persuasion, if effected, must be effected by the downfal of the clergy—of the ancient families—and respectable commercial men of the Roman Catholic Religion. The undersigned individuals of each of which description, hereby publicly declare their determination to stand or fall with the present existing constitution.

Fingal, Mathew Donelan; Gormanstown, Francis Bellew; Southwell, James Farrel; Kenmare, Val. O'Connor; Hon. Col. Dillon, 3d Regt. I. B. Thomas Fitzsimons; Philip Lawless; Sir Edward Bellew; Barry Lawless; Sir Thomas Burke; Malachia Donelan; Robert French; Gerald Aylmer; Michael Burke; William Bellew; John White; Morgan Kavanagh; R. S. Keating; Gerald

Gerald Aylmer; R. O'Connell; Patrick Deaſe; Richard O'Reilly, D. D. Armagh; John Thomas Troy, D. D. Dublin; Boetius Egan, D. D. Tuam; Thomas Bray, D D Caſhel; P J Plunket, Meath; D. Maguire, D D Kilmore; Anthony Coyle, D D Raphoe; Matthew Lennan, D D Dromore; John Cruiſe, D D Ardagh; John M'Mullen, D. D. Down and Connor; Dominick Bellew, D D Kilalla; Thomas Coſtelloe, D D Clonfert; Edward French, D D Elphin; Thomas O'Connor, D D Achonry; E. Dillon, D D Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora; Charles O'Reilly, D D; John Dillon, D D; J. Joyſe, D D Galway; Hugh O'Reilly, D D Clogher; Michael Patrick M'Mahon, D D Killaloe; Francis Moylan, D D Cork; D. Delany, D D Leighlin and Kildare; James Caulfield, D D Ferns; M Coppinger, D D Cloyne; James Flanigan, D D Oſſory; John Young, D D Limerick; C. O'Donnell, of Derry, D D; C Sahrue, D D Ardfert and Aghadoe; Rev Peter Flood, D D, preſident of the Royal College of St Patrick, at Maynooth, for himſelf, the profeſſors and ſtudents of ſaid College.

N. B. The preſſure of the moment not allowing time to wait for ſignatures, the above has been publiſhed without the names of many loyal men, who, there is no doubt, would have ſigned it, if there had been an opportunity of conſulting them."

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Commencement of diſturbances in county Wexford.—Attack on the houſe of Mr. Buckey.—Murder of Mr. Buckey and Mr. Donovan.—Proceedings of the inſurgents at Oulard.—Mr. Haye's account thereof,—Sir Richard Muſgrave's account of the diſturbances at Enniſcorthy.—Proceedings at Kilcullen.—Rathangan.—Blackmore-hill.—Ballytore.—Taghmon.—Carlow.—Kilcock.—Rebel camps formed at Vinegar-hill and Three Rocks.—Addreſs of the Roman Catholics to the Lord Lieutenant.

THESE diſturbances now reached the county of Wexford. The inſurgents attacked the houſe of Mr *Buckey* of Rockſpring, (who was a lieutenant in the Earl of Mountnorris's corps of yeoman cavalry) which they burned to the ground. An expreſs was immediately ſent off to Lord Mountnorris at his ſeat at Camolin; who being aſſiſted by a detachment of the Enniſcorthy and Heathfield corps, together with Captain Richards and Lieutenant Jacob of the Enniſcorthy cavalry, Captain Grogan of the Heathfield cavalry, and a detachment of Cornock's infantry, proceeded for the place. An advanced guard was detached from the main body; who, on their coming to the ſpot, found the inſurgents burning the ſurrounding country: they immediately commenced an attack on the yeomen; and unfortunately Lieutenant Buckey, who had the command, and a Mr. Donovan, were killed: the remainder

remainder of the corps retreated, and having joined the main body, they advanced, attacked the rebels, with great ſpirit, and completely routed them, having killed and wounded upwards of 40. It was nearly an hour after Lieutenant Buckey and Mr. Donovan were killed, before the main body came into action; during which interval, the wretches glutted their ſavage fury by hacking and mangling the body of the former gentleman, having covered him all over with wounds: It is ſuppoſed there could not have been leſs than 250 of the rebels; ſome of whom had fire-arms; but, in general, they were armed with pikes.

"*May*, 27*th*. Advices having been received at Wexford of theſe proceedings, and that the rebels were in great force, in the neighbourhood of Oulard, burning the houſes of different Proteſtant inhabitants in that part of the country, Lieutenant Colonel Foot, Major Lombard, and ſix other officers, with 100 men of the North Cork militia, immediately proceeded from the town, and came up with the rebels at an advantageous poſition they had taken on a hill near Oulard. Whether from the fatigue of a long march, or whether from miſmanagement, we ſhall not determine, but, in charging the rebels, the whole party were ſurrounded, and not a man eſcaped inſtant deſtruction, but the Lieutenant Colonel and two privates. By this defeat of the army, the rebels acquired a powerful acceſſion of ſtrength and confidence; having got the whole of the arms, and about 57 rounds of ball cartridge from each man, they not having fired above three or four rounds, when they attempted to charge them with bayonets."

"Mr. Ed. Hay in his hiſtory of the inſurrection in the county of Wexford relates this affair in the following manner. The military came in ſight of the inſurgents, who were collected in great numbers on the hill of Oulard, diſtant

distant about ten miles from Wexford. Colonel Foote of the North Cork, seeing their position so strong and commanding, thought it advisable not to attack them; but Major Lombard of the same regiment being of a contrary opinion, orders were given to burn two houses, situate in a hollow, between the army and the insurgents, and Mr. Turner volunteered his service for that purpose. This was done with a view to stimulate the insurgents to revenge, and thus if possible, to induce them to abandon the advantage of their situation. This feint, however, not succeeding, and colonel Foote still persisting in his opinion, Major Lombard instantly addressed the soldiers in terms animating them at once to attack the insurgents, who, he said, would fly at their approach. His words had the effect of making them advance. They descended from the small eminence which they occupied, and crossing the valley between, began to ascend the hill of Oulart, while the Shilmalier cavalry took a circuitous route, round the hill to the left, with the intention of preventing a retreat, but in fact they caused numbers to rally who attempted to run off, on perceiving the approach of a serious engagement. This also contributed to make the insurgents rush in greater numbers, and with accumulated force, on the North Cork, who were charging up the hill. They had fired but two vollies when they were totally discomfited. This success of the insurgents was much promoted by the address of a servant boy, who, as the military were ascending the hill, advised such of the insurgents as were then about him, to lie down under cover of the ditches, and wait the close approach of the military. By this manœuvre these were suddenly surprized by a force not greatly outnumbering themselves, but the impetuosity of the attack occasioned their total overthrow, while the fact was, at the instant, utterly unknown to the great body of the insurgents who attended their commanders at the other side of the hill. Of the North Cork party, Major Lombard, the

" the hon. Capt. DeCourcy, Lieutenant Williams, Ware, Barry, and Enſign Keogh, were left on the field of battle. In ſhort, none eſcaped except Colonel Foote, a ſerjeant who mounted the major's horſe, a drummer and two privates. It may not be unworthy of remark, that there was a fool who followed the North Cork, and who, when he ſaw the major fall, ran to the body and embraced it, then took the Major's ſword and with it diſpatched two men before he fell himſelf. The inſurgents had but five men killed, and two wounded; The Shilmalier cavalry, and Colonel Foote, made a precipitate retreat to Wexford. A large party of the Wexford cavalry alſo, who had no ſhare whatever in the action, were involved in this retreat. Having Mr Colclough in gaol, they ſet out on another excurſion to Ballimurrin; In their courſe they ſhot ſome ſtraggling men, and burned two houſes on finding two men killed near them. They were thus employed in ſcouring the country, when informed of the defeat at Oulard, and this determined them without heſitation to retreat with all ſpeed homeward."

" The remainder of the North Cork regiment were inſtantly under arms in the barracks, when informed of the defeat of that part of their body which had gone out to action. Burning for revenge they actually marched to the bridge, as if determined to proceed and meet the inſurgents; but they were induced to return by ſome gentlemen who endeavoured to diſſuade them from ſo headlong and unſafe an undertaking."

" The great ſuſpenſe felt by the inhabitants of Wexford, during the whole of this day, on account of ſo ſudden an inſurrection, now grew into ſerious alarm, ſuch as unexpected news like this muſt inſpire; The lamentations of the unfortunate widows and orphans of the ſoldiers who had fallen in the encounter, increaſed the general conſternation.

consternation. These, clapping their hands, ran about the streets quite frantic, mixing their piteous moanings with the plaintive cries of their children, and uttering their bittereſt maledictions againſt the yeomen, whom they charged with having run away, and left their husbands to deſtruction! Letters were diſpatched to Duncannon-fort and to Waterford, with theſe diſaſtrous accounts, and requeſting reinforcements."

"On Monday morning 28th May, the rebels attacked Enniſcorthy: about nine o'clock the drums beat to arms. Of this proceeding we have the following account in Sir Richard Muſgrave's hiſtory before quoted.

"About half an hour before the enemy appeared, a rebel ſpy, with a white cotton jacket, and a white hat with a broad green band, was ſeized near the town, and as a rebel commiſſion was found in his pocket, he was hanged."

"At length, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the videttes at the Duffrey-gate came galloping in, and announced, that the rebels who had aſſembled at Ballyorle hill, which is on the north eaſt ſide of the town, and about two miles diſtant from it, were advancing on the Newtown-barry road in an immenſe column, which extended a mile in length, and was ſo thick, as to fill up the road."

"Some officers in the garriſon, who had ſeen a great deal of actual ſervice, declared, that their number was between five and ſix thouſand; others, that they amounted to between eight and nine thouſand."

"In the courſe of the morning they ſet fire to ſome houſes, in hopes of drawing the garriſon out of the town."

"As

"As many avenues led into it, it would have been impoſſible for the yeomanry to occupy them for its defence, from the paucity of their numbers, ſhould the rebels be allowed to approach it. For this reaſon, captains Cornock and Pounden led their corps forward, in a line about four hundred yards from the Duffrey-gate; on which the rebel column halted about the ſame diſtance from them. Soon after, three rebel leaders who were on horſeback, with drawn ſwords, began to move among them, and to give orders; on which great numbers of the rebels filed off in the fields on the right and left, to the diſtance of about half a mile from the main body; which they did with a deſign of outflanking the yeomen, of cutting them off from the town, and of entering it by the different avenues which led into it. After this movement, having advanced a little, they drove a number of horſes on the road againſt the loyaliſts for the purpoſe of throwing them into fuſion. They then fired a general volley, both from the main body and the flanks; by which lieutenant Hunt and Pounden were mortally, and captain Cornock ſlightly wounded, and ſome of the privates were killed and wounded."

"The yeomen returned the fire, with conſiderable effect. The rebels ſtill advanced, firing at the ſame time from behind the hedges, with ſuch ſteadineſs and celerity, that Captain Drury, who had ſerved the whole of the American war, and who was in the action that day, declared, he had never experienced a heavier or better-directed fire."

"As the rebels ſtill continued to advance, and to extend their wings, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding the yeomen, the latter retreated near the town, and ſent to captain Snowe, who guarded the bridge, where he was ſupported by the cavalry commanded by captain Richards, to

to requeſt he would reinforce them with the North Cork, and he accordingly repaired to the Duffrey-gate, attended by the cavalry, to ſupport the yeomanry; but as a detachment of them were between him and the enemy, and exactly in his line of fire, he could not do any material ſervice, without running a riſque of injuring the loyaliſts; and, as apprehenſions were entertained that the rebels would croſs the river to attack Temple-ſhannon, he repaired to his former poſt at the bridge, and at the ſame time, ordered the cavalry to cover his retreat, as a large body of the enemy had come near his laſt poſition. Captain Richards then charged and diſperſed them, but in effecting it, nine of his men were killed, and three wounded; and ſixteen of his horſes were either killed or ſo ſeverely wounded, as to be unfit for ſervice. It happened very fortunately, that Captain Snowe arrived in due time to prevent the rebels from croſſing the river, having killed great numbers of them in their attempt to do ſo."

"At laſt, the yeomen infantry, perceiving that they muſt ſoon be ſurrounded, and cut off by the long extended wings of the enemy, while the main body engaged them, divided themſelves into ſmall parties, and occupied the different avenues which led into the town, where they made a moſt gallant defence, having killed great numbers of the rebels; though they ſuffered much from the treachery of the diſloyal inhabitants, who not only fired at them from the windows, but their fanaticiſm was ſuch, that they ſet fire to their own houſes, to annoy the yeomen; for, in a ſhort time, three large ſuburbs, called Guttle ſtreet, Drumgoold, and Iriſh-ſtreet, and two lanes in the centre of the town, were in flames; yet the loyaliſts were ſo confident of ſucceſs, from having completely repulſed the rebels, that they gave three cheers. The enemy, defeated in the many attempts which they made on the north

north and weſt ſide of the town, made an effort to croſs the river, about a quarter of a mile above the bridge, where there is an iſland, in which they ſucceeded; but were ſoon repulſed by captain Richards's corps, part of whom fired at them with carabines, from a place about one hundred yards above the glebe-houſe, and killed great numbers; at the ſame time they were ſeverely galled by the North Cork on the bridge."

"They then attempted to croſs the river higher up, out of the reach of the fire of the North Cork. On this, captain Snowe detached lieutenant Prior, with a ſerjeant and ſixteen men of his corps, to oppoſe them, which they did moſt effectually; for having taken poſt behind a hedge, they continued to kill great numbers of them, till their ammunition was expended. Soon after captain Cornock came to captain Snowe at the bridge, bleeding copiouſly from a pike wound he had received in the neck, having the crown of his hat cleft from a blow of a pike, and demanded a reinforcement, as the rebels, under cover of the ſmoke, had forced into the town in conſiderable numbers, at the Duffry-gate and Iriſh-ſtreet. At the ſame time the diſaffected inhabitants fired on the yeomen from the windows. One column of them attacked captain Pounden's, the other captain Cornock's corps, which had ſuffered materially. The ſtreets were entirely involved in ſmoke, ſo that the yeomen could not perceive the rebels till they were charged by their pikes. The flames from the houſes at each ſide of the ſtreet were ſo great, as to unite over their heads, and to form an arch. Their hair was ſinged; the bear-ſkin in their caps was burnt. The loyaliſts, bravely diſputing every inch of ground, retreated to the market-houſe, an open ſpace, like a ſquare, where they made a determined ſtand, and killed great numbers of the enemy. By this effort the loyaliſts turned the ſcale, and drove the rebels completely out of the town, the ſtreets

of

of which at each side of the river presented an awful scene of conflagration. While the troops were thus engaged in the south side of the town, another body of the rebels crossed the river, about three quarters of a mile above the bridge, but were soon routed by captain Snowe, on which occasion his men shewed great dexterity, as marksmen, having seldom failed to bring down such individual rebels as they aimed at. Captain Snowe then ordered captain Richards to charge them, which he did most effectually, but with the loss of two men killed, and some wounded."

"As a party of the rebels which came from Vinegar-hill towards the glebe still remained unassailed, and their numbers seemed to increase, they were attacked by captain Drury, with half a company of the North Cork, and he dispersed them with considerable slaughter. Thus ended an action which lasted more than three hours, fought on a very hot day, and in the midst of a burning town, the disaffected inhabitants of which set fire to their own houses, to annoy the loyalists, and fired on them from their windows. In this the yeomen and protestant inhabitants performed prodigies of valour, in support of the constitution in church and state, and in defence of their property and their families. They lost near one third of their number, which did not exceed three hundred, and the rebels, whom they encountered, were said by some to amount to five thousand, by others to six thousand."

"On the 29*th*, *May*. Late in the evening, General Lake arrived in Dublin from Kilcullen, where he had received the unconditional submission of a body of rebels, amounting to near 4000; who, after having delivered up their arms, and seven persons who were their leaders, were permitted to return to the king's peace."

"Same day, Lieutenant Colonel Longfield of the Royal Cork militia having arrived near Rathangan, and perceiving the rebels to have taken a position at the upper end of the town near the church, and that they had, in some parts, barricadoed the streets, and drawn chains across others, he plated some battallion guns in front, supported by infantry, stationing his cavalry so as to support both; and commenced, by firing upon the town with the cannon: soon after which, the enemy fled in all directions. He then gave orders for the cavalry to charge; which was executed by Captain Park, and a detachment of the 5th dragoons, with the greatest spirit and judgment. Lord Tyrawly joined Lieutenant-colonel Longfield immediately before the action, with a serjeant and twelve of the Romney Fencibles, and some of the yeomen cavalry, who assisted with great bravery: about 60 of the rebels were killed."

"The rebellion now spread to the southern part of the kingdom; insomuch, that the communication between that district and Dublin was, for some time, interrupted; so that neither the Cork or Limerick mails could be conveyed as usual."

"On Tuesday, the 29th *May*, the insurgents formed two powerful camps; one at *Vinegar-hill*, near Enniscorthy; and the other about three miles from Wexford, at a place called the *Three Rocks*, on the road between Wexford and Ross."

"On the 31*st May*, General Duff ordered a strong force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery to proceed to Kilcullen, where he put himself at their head, and marched to Blackmore-hill, resolving to cut his way to the capital, though the communication between it and Limerick had been stopt for six days. The forces under his command (amounting

(amounting to about 600) marched the firſt 70 miles in 50 hours, of which they had ſlept only four. On their arrival at Kildare, they heard of the loſs of Lieutenant Giffard, who had been killed; and alſo that 6000 of the rebels had been drawn up on the Curragh: the troops puſhed on; they did not permit the artillery to fire, but fell upon the inſurgents, and ſlew 400 of them upon the plain. The General then proceeded to *Blackmore-mountain*, where he ſtormed the rebel camp, and drove them to a ſtill higher mountain, ſcarcely paſſable: however he brought his cannon to its very top, and after throwing a few ſhells amongſt the enemy, ſoon put them completely to the rout. In this camp, the pots were all filled with choice proviſions boiling for breakfaſt; there were lying on the ground, ſeveral fat bullocks and ſheep, that had been houghed to prevent their eſcape: The tents were formed of fine Wilton carpets, bed-hangings, window-curtains, ſheets, table-clothes, &c. They had great quantities of meat, bacon, butter, &c. fine feather-beds, and good horſes. In fact, this camp was intended for a much greater number than had aſſembled; but the activity of General Duff defeated their projects."

"A few days before theſe proceedings took place, an expreſs arrived at Carlow, ſtating, that the rebels had got poſſeſſion of *Ballytore*, and were ſtrengthening themſelves in it. In conſequence of which, Major Dennis marched with two troops of the 9th dragoons, and ſome of the North Cork militia; but before his arrival, the enemy had evacuated the place; he, however, cut off one of their reconnoitering parties, conſiſting of a few men. And it having appeared that many of the inhabitants had aſſiſted the rebels, the military burned the town, except a few houſes belonging to ſome peaceable people: The rebels afterwards re-aſſembled in that neighbourhood, but were defeated with conſiderable loſs."

"An attack was alſo made on the town of Carlow; where near 1000 of the rebels aſſembled at 2 o'clock, on the 26th of May. The inhabitants, however, had ſome previous intimation of the deſign, and were, in ſome meaſure, prepared for the event. A force was collected to oppoſe them; and in a ſhort time, near 400 of the inſurgents were cut off. A great part of the town was burnt; and the rebels having crowded into the narrow paſs of *Tullow-ſtreet*, when the garriſon fell upon them, attempted to fly; but no paſſage was left open; a troop of dragoons having had poſſeſſion of every avenue to the ſtreet, and a dreadful fire of muſquetry being kept up, ſoon devoted the wretched victims to deſpair and death."

"On the 2*d* of *June*, accounts were received at the caſtle from Major-general *Euſtace* at *New-Roſs*, ſtating, that Major-general *Fawcett* having marched with a company of the Meath regiment from Duncannon-Fort, this ſmall force was ſurrounded by a very large body between Taghmon and Wexford, and defeated: General Fawcett effected his eſcape to Duncannon-Fort. And by a letter received from Colonel L'Eſtrange of the King's county militia, it appeared, that the town of Newtown-barry had been attacked on the 1*ſt* of June, in the morning, by a very large force from *Vinegar-hill*: they ſurrounded the town in ſuch a manner, that Colonel L'Eſtrange at firſt retreated, in order to collect his force: he then attacked the rebels, and drove them out of the town with great ſlaughter, purſuing them ſeveral miles, until night obliged him to return: His detachment conſiſted of 230 of the King's county militia, 17 dragoons, and about 100 yeomen. The rebels were in very great force, and loſt about 500 men."

"A vaſt body of inſurgents alſo entered the town of Kilcock, and forced along with them every man they could

could lay hold of: they also took all the horses they could find, among which were sixteen that were in the mail-coach stables; so that the coach man who brought the intelligence to Dublin, was obliged to drive one set of cattle 30 miles. The insurgents did not keep possession of the town."

"We have already stated that the rebels had formed a camp at the *Three Rocks*: Before we carry this narrative farther, it may be proper to mention that, on the 30th of May, information was received, that a body of the military (supposed to be the 13th regiment) had been attacked by the rebels at that place: which account induced Lieutenant-colonel *Maxwell*, who had arrived the day before at Wexford, with 200 of the Donegal militia, to march out his men, and four troops of yeomen cavalry, to their assistance; but before he had come up with them, they entirely cut off the party; which proved to be a slight detachment of the Meath militia of about 100 men, who were coming to Wexford with three howitzers; and with these howitzers the rebels attacked Colonel *Maxwell's* party, and obliged him to retreat into Wexford. The 13th regiment, who were also coming to their relief, finding they could not proceed without attacking the rebel camp, returned back into Waterford. From these successes of the enemy in this quarter, and their increasing number, which was then supposed to amount to 20,000 men, (all ready to attack Wexford) the people were panic-struck; and finding that many who were entrusted with arms had deserted their colours, and it being considered that others could not be depended on, the officers concluded that the town was not tenable, and without firing a shot it was evacuated on the 30th of May, and shortly after entered by the rebels, who kept possession of it till the 21st of June following."

"Perhaps

Perhaps we might be accuſed of having given a *partial* relation of public events, if no notice was takenof thoſe profeſſions of loyalty which were now publicly made by many of the moſt reſpectable and wealthy Roman Catholics in this kingdom: We ſhall find them contained in the following addreſs, which was preſented to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant on the 30th of May, 1798.

" *May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

" We, the underſigned, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, think it neceſſary at this moment, publicly to declare our firm attachment to his Majeſty's royal perſon, and to the conſtitution under which we have the happineſs to live. We feel, in common with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, the danger to which both are expoſed, from an implacable and enterpriſing enemy, menacing invaſion from abroad, and from the machinations of evil and diſaffected men, conſpiring treaſon within his Majeſty's kingdom. Under theſe impreſſions, we deem it neceſſary to remove, by an open and explicit declaration, every idea of countenance afforded, on our part, to a conduct bearing even the appearance of indifference or indiſcretion, much more to a conduct holding forth ſymptoms of diſaffection and hoſtility to the eſtabliſhed order of government in this kingdom; in the preſervation of which, though we differ from it in ſome points of ſpiritual concern, we feel too deeply intereſted to look, with an indifferent eye, at it's overthrow.

" Allow us, then, to aſſure your excellency, that we contemplate with horror, the evils of every deſcription which the conduct of the French republic has produced on every nation weak enough to be deluded with it's promiſes of liberty and offers of fraternity; we anticipate ſimilar

ſimilar misfortunes as awaiting this his Majeſty's kingdom, in the deprecated event of ſucceſsful invaſion; with confidence we ſhall ſtate our determination, not to be outdone by any deſcription of our fellow-ſubjects in zealous endeavours for averting that calamity; and that, although anxious to enjoy, free of every reſtriction, the full benefit of our conſtitution, we reject, with indignation, any idea of removing the reſtrictions under which we ſtill labor by any means of foreign invaſion, or by any other ſtep inconſiſtent with the known laws of the land: We prefer, without heſitation, our preſent ſtate to any alteration thus obtained; and with gratitude to the beſt of kings, and to our enlightened legiſlature, we acknowledge ſuch a ſhare of political liberty and advantage already in our poſſeſſion, as leaves us nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to induce us to look elſewhere than to the tried benignity of our ſovereign, and the unbiaſſed determination of the legiſlature, as the ſource of future advantage.

"We cannot avoid expreſſing to your excellency, our regret at ſeeing the general deluſion of many (particularly the lower orders) of our religious perſuaſion, engaged in unlawful aſſociations and practices; yet we truſt, that your excellency's diſcernment will lead you to make every juſt allowance for the facility with which men, open to deluſion from their ſituation in life, are led aſtray from political duty: it ſhall be our endeavour to recal ſuch men to a ſenſe of that duty, how inconſiſtent their conduct is with their real intereſts, and how contrary to the maxims of religion which they profeſs; nor ſhall we leſs endeavour, by our conduct, to convince all deſcriptions of our fellow-ſubjects, how much we are impreſſed with the neceſſity of laying aſide all conſiderations of religious diſtinctions, and joining in one common effort for the preſervation of our conſtitution, of ſocial order, and of the chriſ-

tian

" tian religion, againſt a nation whoſe avowed principles aim at the deſtruction of them all."

" We requeſt your Excellency will make theſe our ſentiments known to his Majeſty; and we rely with unfeigned confidence on your excellency's acknowledged candor and generoſity, that you will repreſent us in that light to which we venture to hope our conduct and principles have given us a juſt claim."

Signed by many of the Roman Catholic nobility, gentry, and *titular* clergy.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Engagements in the county Wicklow between the rebels and the King's troops.—Proceedings at Corbet-hill.—New-Roſs.—Death of Lord Mountjoy.—Gallant conduct of General Johnſon.—Sir R. Muſgrave's ſtatement.—Appointment of B. B. Harvey, Eſq. to the command of the rebel army in the county Wexford.—Mr. Hay's account of the maſſacre at Scullabogue.—Attack at Adraſs.—Leixlip.—Timohoe.—Carbery.—Shane's Caſtle.—Randals Town.—Reynalds Town.—Larne.—Toome.—Battle at Arklow.—Saintfield.—Ballinahinch.—Munro's proclamation.—Proceedings at Kilbeggan.—Larkin-Hill.—Letter from the rebel ſecretary at Wexford to the commander Rorke.

IN the beginning of *June*, the rebels became very numerous about the mountains and woods in the county of Wicklow; five different engagements took place between them and the troops; in which, at leaſt, 700 of the inſurgents were deſtroyed.

On the 5th June, the Wexford rebels made their appearance in the environs of New Roſs; having (to the amount of 20,000) taken poſſeſſion, the day before, of *Corbet-hill*, within about a mile and a half of that town. Some ſkirmiſhes early took place between their advanced parties and detachments of the military: About four o'clock in the morning, they were more clearly obſerved; and ſhortly after, they ſent a perſon having the appearance of an aid-du-camp, with a ſummons to the commanding officer to ſurrender the town; which was anſwered, by

by inſtantly ſhooting the meſſenger: At five o'clock, finding they received no anſwer, and ſuppoſing the fate their meſſenger met, they ruſhed into the town, where the military, yeomen, and ſeveral of the inhabitants were drawn up, and commenced a brisk fire of muſquetry on them, which was well ſupported by the artillery. In the beginning of the action, the rebels were, for ſome time, victorious: they drove before them all the black cattle they could collect through the country; which, for a time, threw the military into confuſion, and obliged many of them to retreat in diſorder over the bridge; in conſequence of which, ſome cannon fell into the hands of the enemy. At length, after an engagement which laſted, without intermiſſion, from five o'clock in the morning till 2 in the afternoon, the inſurgents were completely routed, with conſiderable loſs. On their firſt entering the town, they ſet fire to ſeveral of the thatched cabins; but this turned to their own diſadvantage; for the wind blowing towards them, they were enveloped in the ſmoke, which, together with the immediate quantity of ſpirituous liquors they had drunk on Corbet-hill, rendered them incapable of their buſineſs. The Dublin and Donegal militia, who kept guards at the market-houſe and Fair-gate, never left their poſts; by means of which, the rebels could not penetrate into the centre of the town;—had they run, New-Roſs, and, in all probability, the provincial towns in Munſter, would have fallen. The military, being fired on from ſome houſes which had been forced by the rebels, ſuppoſing it was their owners who had aſſailed them, ſet them on fire, and they were conſumed. The inſurgents had a mortar with them, from which they threw two ſhells acroſs the river; but having fallen on ſoft ground, they luckily did no damage. 3000 of the rebels are ſaid to have fallen in this attack; and *B. B. Harvey*, eſq; who commanded them, was, for his bad generalſhip, on that day depoſed, and the command afterwards

afterwards given to one *Roach*. At this engagement, the public have to regret the death of Lord Mountjoy; Col. Ledwell of the 5th dragoons, was alſo killed; as was Quarter maſter Hay, of the Mid-Lothian: Captain Sinclair of the Donegal was wounded. The total loſs, on the part of the army, is ſaid to have been 90 killed and 54 horſes—59 wounded, and 9 horſes—81 miſſing and 4 horſes. The fate of this battle principally depended upon General *Johnſon*, who had two horſes ſhot under him, before the rebels gained the bridge, and was himſelf much ſtunned by the fall off the laſt; yet, in an inſtant, he mounted his third horſe, and requeſted of his officers only four minutes time to rally his men once more, who were then in a diſorderly ſtate; which, if he could not accompliſh in that time, he promiſed he would return alone, and die with them: the appearance of their general, (whom they now thought dead,) reanimated his drooping ſoldiers, and, with one voice, they cried out, *they would follow him to death or victory*. There was taken from the rebels one $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzer, on ſhip-carriage—one iron four-pounder, on ſhip-carriage—fourteen ſwivels—one iron three-pounder—one iron two-pounder—a quantity of ſhot of different ſizes—an immenſity of pikes and muskets—and a variety of ſtands and colours. On their retreat from New-Roſs, the rebels ſet fire to a barn at Scullabogue, in which 170 Proteſtants, men, women and children, were confined, and it was entirely conſumed. 25 Proteſtants, not included in the above number, were ſhot, in the moſt deliberate manner; ſuch was the ſavage barbarity of theſe deſperate offenders! (a)

The following relation of the proceedings at New-Roſs is extracted from Sir R. Muſgrave.

In

(a) *See an account of this rebellion printed by A. Stewart, Bride-ſtreet, Dublin*, 1799.

In conſequence of the encampment at Carrick-byrne, the Donegal, Clare, and Meath regiments of militia, detachments of the Engliſh artillery, the 5th dragoons, and Mid Lothian fencibles, marched into Roſs; and on the fourth of June, the county of Dublin regiment afforded a very ſeaſonable reinforcement to the garriſon, as the rebels on that evening, with dreadful yells, moved from Carrickbyrne to Corbet-hill, an eminence about a mile and a half from the town, and from which there is a gradual and uninterrupted deſcent, after having driven in our out-poſt, which had been ſtationed on Lacken-hill.

A perſon, who was forced to attend them in their march, informed me, that they moved by pariſhes and baronies, each having a particular ſtandard; and that in their way they ſtopped at a chapel, where maſs was ſaid at the head of each column, by prieſts who ſprinkled an abundance of holy water on them.

The garriſon conſiſting of about twelve hundred effective men, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen, under the command of general Johnſon, continued on their arms all night. The infantry and artillery were moſtly in a line outſide the walls of the town, to the eaſt and ſouth ſide of it; the cavalry on the quay, the yeomen infantry on the bridge.

About four o'clock, one of the centinels at an out-poſt ſhot a man who was galloping towards him with a white handkerchief, which he waved in the air as a flag of truce. On examining him, it appeared that his name was Furlong, and that he was ſent by Bagnal Harvey, the rebel general, to propoſe to general Johnſon, to ſurrender the town to him, as the following ſummons was found in his pocket:

"Sir,

"Sir,

"As a friend to humanity, I requeſt you will ſurrender the town of Roſs to the Wexford forces, now aſſembled againſt that town; your reſiſtance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the moſt innocent. Fluſhed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irreſiſtible, will not be controled, if they meet with reſiſtance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a ſpeedy ſurrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loſs and bloodſhed, as you are ſurrounded on all ſides. Your anſwer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the anſwer.

Camp at Corbet-hill,
half paſt 3 o'clock morning,
June 5th, 1798.

I am, Sir,
B. B. HARVEY,
Gen. commanding, &c."

I give the reader a copy of Bagnal Harvey's appointment as commander in chief, which fortunately fell into my hands:

"At a meeting of the commanders of the united army held at Carrickbyrne camp, on the firſt of June, 1798, it was unanimouſly agreed, that Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey ſhould be appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the firſt day of June, 1798.

Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,
NICHOLAS GRAY, ſecretary."

"It was likewiſe agreed, that Edward Roche ſhould, from and after the firſt day of June inſtant, be elected, and

and is hereby elected, a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

Signed by the above authority,
N. GRAY."

About five o'clock in the morning, not less than thirty thousand of the rebels approached the town, some in columns, others in intermediate lines, with terrific yells, having four pieces of cannon, besides swivels.

They moved with slow but irresistible progress, like an immense body of lava, which, issuing from the bowels of Vesuvius, spreads desolation over the plains of Campania, and from which man alone can escape, and that by flight only.

It is supposed that one-fourth of them had muskets, the remainder were armed with pikes. Their superior force soon made our advanced guard retire to the main body, and they took possession of our alarm-posts. The struggle there became serious, and matters wore a very unfavourable aspect, particularly at the Three-bullet gate, which post was at last forced by an immense column of rebels, who, regardless of danger from fanaticism and ebriety, made a most formidable attack, and carried one of our guns, which they immediately turned against us.

In the first onset which they made at the Three-bullet gate, they were repulsed; on which general Johnson ordered captain Irwine to advance and charge them with a detachment of the 5th dragoons, in a field where they seemed doubtful whether to advance or make good their retreat. Seeing the cavalry advance briskly on them, they fled precipitately, leaped over some very high ditches, and fired from behind them on the dragoons, who had approached very close to them, and attempted to leap over them,

them, but in vain. The very ſame circumſtances happened in two other fields where they charged. They loſt in the courſe of theſe charges cornet Dodwell, one ſerjeant, one corporal, twenty-four privates, and twenty-ſix horſes. The gallant general Johnſon was in each field where theſe charges were made.

When Captain Irwine was approaching the Three-bullet gate from the laſt field, a twelve-pounder poſted there was fired, and killed his horſe, which fell on his leg, and prevented him from moving, at the ſame time that our troops in that quarter had retired within the gate, and were retreating towards the bridge; and the rebels had advanced within a few yards of him, and would have killed him, but that they were engaged in taking poſſeſſion of the gun. In that critical moment an artillery horſe happened to paſs by, and ſo near him, that he laid hold of one of the traces, and was dragged into the town, by which his life was ſaved.

The rebels, in great numbers, having entered the town in that point, part of them were engaged in ſetting fire to the houſes, in which ſome of the Popiſh inhabitants aſſiſted them, whilſt others puſhed for the bridge.

General Johnſon, perceiving this, planted guns at the ſeveral croſs lanes, leading from Church-lane and Neville-ſtreet, and one at the old market place, to which for ſome time he attached himſelf. By theſe the rebels were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Such was their enthuſiaſm, that, though whole ranks of them were ſeen to fall, they were ſucceeded by others, who ſeemed to court the fate of their companions, by ruſhing on our troops with renovated ardour.

One

One rebel emboldened by fanaticiſm and drunkenneſs, advanced before his comrades, ſeized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "Come on, boys! her mouth is ſtopped." At that inſtant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate ſavage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a perſon who ſaw it from a window.

The main body of our troops, overpowered and terrified by the immenſe body of rebels who entered the town at the Three-bullet gate, fled over the bridge to the Kilkenny or Rosbergen ſide of the river, and the enemy being in poſſeſſion of the greater part of it, (except where they were checked by one gun at the old market place, and two more ſupported by Serjeant Hamilton, at the main guard, which ſtood at the croſs formed by the junction of Mary-ſtreet, Quay-ſtreet, North and South-ſtreets) proceeded to plunder and burn. The gallant general Johnſon (whoſe ardour and activity could be equalled by nothing but his cool preſence of mind,) ſeeing them in that ſituation, followed our troops to the Kilkenny ſide of the river, rallied and brought them back to their reſpective poſts, by which the rebels within the town were completely ſubdued. He often exclaimed to the fugitives whom he rallied, "Will you deſert your general?" without any effect; but when he added, "and your countryman?" they gave three cheers, and followed him. Having ſucceeded in rallying the fugitives, he rode before them to a part of our troops, who, much to their honour, had kept their poſt near the Three-bullet gate, and informed them that a reinforcement of freſh troops had arrived from Waterford, which deluſion produced a very good effect in animating them; however, he reinforced them with ſome of thoſe whom he had rallied, as there was a rebel column oppoſite to them, which ſeemed by its advancing towards them, determined to make one deſperate effort.

At

At this moment the fortune of the day hung in a balance, but it was ſoon turned by the ſteady fire of our troops, who repulſed the rebels with great ſlaughter.

Then, by turning the rear of the rebels who had entered the town at the Three-bullet gate end of it, not one of them eſcaped; and by manning the ditches outſide, he prevented them from receiving a reinforcement.

From the arts of ſeductions practiſed on the Clare regiment, while at Waterford, where it had been quartered ſome months, the rebels, being ſure of their aſſiſtance, frequently exclaimed during the action, "Clare regiment, don't fire on your religion!" Prudence would not admit, that a handful of men, almoſt exhauſted by hunger and fatigue, ſhould purſue an enemy ſo ſuperior in number to a conſiderable diſtance. The utmoſt extent of the purſuit, and that only by a ſmall part of the army, was to a ravin under Corbet-hill and Roſſiter's ſtores, from whence general Johnſon perceived them retiring, every man making the beſt of his way to Carrickbyrne. The enemy left dead two thouſand five hundred, beſides numbers whom they carried off on cars. The loſs of the king's troops was one colonel, one enſign, four ſerjeants, three drummers, eighty-one rank and file, and fifty-four horſes killed; one captain, one drummer, fifty-four rank and file, and five horſes wounded; one captain, three lieutenants, one enſign, two ſerjeants, two corporals, ſeventy-two rank and file, and four horſes miſſing. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin regiment, who fell in the firſt onſet, at the Three-bullet gate, was univerſally lamented, as his public and private virtues made him an object of general eſteem. He was poſſeſſed of high mental endowments, being an elegant ſcholar and a good

public ſpeaker. He had the gentleſt manners, and the mildeſt affections, warm and ſincere in friendſhip, and ſo benevolent and humane, that he never harboured revenge.

Great part of the rebels after the action encamped on Slievekilta, a ſteep and high mountain, about four miles from Roſs, where they remained, regularly anſwering our morning-gun; and thence they went to Laken-hill, where they continued till they were diſlodged by general Johnſon, when he marched to Vinegar-hill.

It is probable that the whole province of Munſter would have been deſolated as much as the county of Wexford, if the valour and activity of general Johnſon had not preſerved Roſs; for it has been diſcovered, that the inhabitants of moſt parts of that province were to have riſen by a preconcerted plan, if that town had fallen into the hands of the rebels; and it was proved, that meſſengers were on the point of being ſent from Waterford by the treaſurers of the united Iriſhmen, to ſummon the people of the South to riſe. General Johnſon was ſeen in every part of the battle, giving orders and animating the troops. It is aſtoniſhing how he eſcaped, as he was often in the moſt perilous ſituations, and had two horſes ſhot under him. He received very material aſſiſtance from general Euſtace, whoſe valour and activity were very conſpicuous during the action.

The barbarity practiſed at Scullabogue, has been thus ſtated by Mr. Hay in his hiſtory of the inſurrection at Wexford.

It is an invariable maxim that cowardice and cruelty are very cloſely allied. This was moſt ſtrongly exemplified by the barbarous conduct of the run-away murderers

ers who fled from the battle of Rofs to Scullabogue, where a number of prifoners were confined in a barn, to which thefe favage mifcreants (having overpowered the guards, who refifted them as long as they could) fet fire, and made every perfon within its walls, nearly eighty in number, periſh in the flames. One hundred and eighty-four are confidently aſſerted to have been victims to this melancholy occaſion, beſides thirty-ſeven ſhot and piked; but then the ſame account ſtates, that the barn was in dimenſions only thirty-four feet long, and fifteen feet wide; and it is not therefore within the limit of reaſonable probability that there were ſo many, as they would have been ſo cloſely cramed in, that the cruelty of ſuch confinement could not eſcape notice; indeed, in ſuch caſe they could ſcarcely ſtand together and reſpire. I am therefore led to believe, that the aſſertors of theſe ſtatements have been impoſed upon, as eighty perſons would rather crowd ſuch a ſpace too much for the purpoſes of maintaining life and health; and I am conſequently induced the more readily to think the information more correct with which I have been favoured by reſpectable and diſintereſted authority from the neighbourhood in which the nefarious tranſaction took place; and ſurely it muſt prove grateful to every mind to be ſo agreeably undeceived reſpecting the fewer number of victims. Wickedneſs is ſeldom exhibited only in ſingle acts of depravity; it ſcarcely ever omits exerting every poſſible action of baſeneſs. Such of the victims at Scullabogue as had any thing about them worth taking, were plundered before being conſigned to their horrid fate. It is alleged on the part of the ſanguinary ruffians concerned in this moſt deteſtable tranſaction, that it was in retaliation for like deeds of deſperate cruelty practiſed againſt themſelves, and irritated as they were from recent experience of perſecutions and tortures of every kind;—whippings, ſtrangulations and hangings without trial,

which ſome of the party had narrowly eſcaped a few days before in Roſs, where theſe meaſures were very prevalent: but no incentive, no perſecution, no experience of cruelty can palliate, much leſs excuſe, ſuch unnatural and deteſtable atrocity. It is but juſtice, however, to obſerve, that in this horrid tranſaction, no perſon of ſuperior condition; none above the mere *canaille*, or loweſt deſcription of men was at all concerned, however confidently the contrary has been aſſerted; but infamy of this indelible nature ſhould never ſo much as glance but at its proper objects. Were the fact otherwiſe than as here ſtated, it muſt have been notoriouſly manifeſted in the courſe of the ſeveral trials ſince had in conſequence of the very enormity, and for which ſome miſcreants have been juſtly doomed to execution.

About this time, ſome matters of leſs importance happened in other parts of the kingdom. A party of rebels were ſurpriſed at *Adraſs*, a mile and a half beyond Celbridge; ſome of them were killed, many wounded, and ſeveral of them made priſoners. Leixlip was alſo again attacked, for the laſt time, and about 20 of the rebels were cut off. A party of them alſo that had taken refuge in the bog of *Timihoe*, near Kilcock, were ſurrounded and put to flight; they abandoned their camp and proviſions, and even their arms, in their haſte to ſeek for ſafety. A few days previous to this event, about 800 of them aſſembled in the village of Carbery, 5 miles from Clonard; where they burnt the Proteſtant Charter-ſchool, and ſeveral houſes; they then proceeded through Johnſtown burning and deſtroying the houſe of every Proteſtant on the road; having halted at a place called Gurteen, they there deſtroyed the houſe of Mr F. *Medcalf*, and committed many depredations.

On

On the 7th of June, Major Siddons, commanding in Antrim, received information that the rebels were to burn and deſtroy that town: He ſent an expreſs to Blaris camp, Belfaſt, and Liſburn. At half paſt two o'clock, there arrived from Belfaſt two troops of horſe commanded by Colonel Lumly, with a ſix pounder. The rebels collected to the amount of ſome thouſands. Lord Maſſareene's corps of yeomanry aſſiſted on the occaſion. Colonel Lumly ordered his troops to make a charge on the enemy; he was unfortunately wounded, and the light horſe obliged to retreat and croſs the river; Major *Seddons* had 3 horſes ſhot under him. Colonel Durham ſoon arrived with additional aſſiſtance; and, after a well directed fire on the town, the inſurgents were driven out; 2 curricle guns were retaken which had fallen into ther hands, and a ſix pounder; they were purſued to Shane's-caſtle and Randalsſtown, with much ſlaughter, Lord *O'Neil* having been informed that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of Reynaldsſtown, went to Antrim with a ſmall party, intending to protect his houſe; he was attacked on the way by a party of the inſurgents, and received a deſperate wound from a pike, under which he languiſhed till the 11th June, when he died in great agony.

In the before mentioned action, the rebels are ſaid to have loſt 500 men. After their defeat, the Monaghan militia arrived and plundered them. As to the action at *Reynaldsſtown*, which took place about the ſame time, the loſs of the rebels there is ſtated to have been above 300. In the engagements of this day, the Ballinderry yeomanry ſuffered a great deal; the loſs, on the part of the army, was 3 officers, and 20 rank and file killed and wounded: amongſt theſe, we have to mention Cornet Dunn and Quarter-maſter Simpſon killed, Lieutenant Murphy wounded.

Another

Another body of the rebels attacked the town of Larne where a ſubaltern's detachment of the Tay fencibles maintained their poſt in the barrack with great gallantry.

On the 5th of June, by accounts received at Dublin from Belfaſt, it was ſtated, that the rebels in that quarter were diſperſed in all directions, except at Toome, whither General *Knox* and Colonel *Clavering* were proceeding; and that many of them had laid down their arms: alſo, that Mr. M'Cleverty had returned from Donegar-hill, to which place he had been carried priſoner by 2000 rebels: Whilſt he was in this ſituation, the inſurgents diſagreed and quarrelled among themſelves; and from his influence and addreſs amongſt them, 1500 of them left their camp, ſurrendered their arms, and ſwore they would never again carry an offenſive weapon againſt his Majeſty, or his loyal ſubjects; many more of them diſperſed; and their commander was left with about fifty men only.

On this day alſo commenced a battle at Arklow: the rebels, in great force, attacked Major-General Needham's poſition at this place, at ſix o'clock in the evening: they advanced in an irregular manner, and extended themſelves, for the purpoſe of turning his left flank, his rere and right flank being ſtrongly defended by the town and barrack of Arklow; upon their endeavouring to enter the lower end of the town, they were charged by the 4th dragoon guards, 5th dragoons, and Antient Britons; and, at laſt, completely routed; all round the other points of the poſition, they were defeated with great ſlaughter;—They alſo ſet fire to the town; but this, providentially, ſerved only to annoy themſelves. Their numbers are ſaid to have amounted to 20,000. In this engagement, Captain *Knox* of the yeomanry was; the rebels alſo loſt their favourite Father *Murphy*, who had proceeded with them from Wexford.

The

The limits to which we are confined will not permit us to enter into a *minute* detail of the ſeveral actions which occurred; the preſent one, however, having been important, we ſhall add General *Needham's* account of it, by letter, dated Arklow, 10th of June, 1798, which ſtates as follows:—"The rebels approached from *Coolgreny-road*, "and along the *land hills* on the ſhore, in two immenſe co- "lumns, while the intermediate ſpace, embracing my en- "tire front, was crowded by a rabble, armed with pikes and "fire-arms, and bearing down on me without any regular or- "der; the poſition I had choſen was a very ſtrong one, in "front of the barrck; as ſoon as the enemy approached "within a ſhort diſtance, we opened a heavy fire of grape, "which did as much execution as, from the nature of the "ground and the ſtrong fences of which they poſſeſſed them- "ſelves, could have been expected; this continued inceſſantly "from ſix until half paſt eight o'clock, when the enemy de- "ſiſted in their attack, and fled in diſorder on every ſide. "ColonelS ir *Watk. W. Wynne* routed a ſtrong column of "them attempting to gain the town by the beach. Colo- "nel *Maxwell* offered his ſervice to burn ſome houſes in "the front, near the end of the action, and effected it "without loſs. Colonel *Skerrett*, of the Durham fencibles, "on whom the brunt of the action fell, acted in a moſt "ſpirited and determined manner; as did alſo Colonel "*O'Hara*, who commanded the Antrim, and covered the "road on my right, &c."—The General then mentions, in the ſtrongeſt terms of approbation, the conduct of Colonel *Cope*, Lieut-Col. *Blackwood*, Lieut.-Col. *Cleghorn*, Captain *Moore*, Captain *Needham*, Mr. *Whaley*, and the officers and men in general. In this engagement, no officer was wounded. Upon ſearching the fields and cabins in the line that was taken by the rebels in their retreat, it appears their loſs could not have fallen ſhort of about 1000 men.

On

On the same day, Colonel *Stapleton* having information of a number of people assembled at *Saintfield*, he set out from *Newtownards*, with a detachment of the York fencible regiment, accompanied by the Newtownards and Comber yeomen cavalry and infantry; altogether, about 320 men and 2 field pieces. About half past 4 o'clock in the evening, they fell upon the rebels, supposed to have been between six and seven thousand. The light infantry, commanded by captain *Chetwynd*, advanced to secure an eminence on the right; which having accompanied, he was attacked by a force of at least 3000 men, the front armed with pikes, the centre and rere with muskets, whose fire galled them severely, till the body of the troops and the field-pieces came up, when the rebels were defeated with the loss of about 500 men, amongst whom were many of their leaders. The king's troops, after routing the insurgents, marched to *Comber*, where they halted during the night; and next morning, proceeded to *Belfast*. In this action, Captain *Chetwynd*, Lieutenant *Unite*, and *I. Sparks*, were killed, and Lieutenant *Edenson* wounded: —The total loss, on the part of the king's troops, was 29 killed, and 2 wounded.

Accounts were now received by General *Nugent* from Colonel *Clavering*, that the disaffected in the neighbourhood of *Antrim* had expressed a desire to submit, and return to their duty. At *Ballymena*, a nunber of pikes and muskets were delivered up to the magistrates; many more, with a brass field-piece, were also surrendered to major *Sidaons*. In the town of *Kildare*, however, the rebels made several attempts to dislodge his Majesty's forces from that post, by repeatedly setting it on fire: much of the town suffered; and it required the utmost exertions of the soldiery, to prevent the whole from being destroyed.

Major-

Major-general Sir Charles *Asgill* attacked, with about 300 men, a rebel camp at the rere, near Ross, which he completely dispersed, and killed 50 men. Lieutenant-Col. *Stewart* also having marched from *Blaris*, with a part of the Argyle fencibles, 30 cavalry, and some yeomanry, arrived at *Ballinahinch* as the rebels were beginning to collect: he relieved some yeomen who were in their possession, and dispersed the rebels, who fled into Lord *Moira's* wood, whither they were pursued, about 40 of them killed, and the remainder routed.

On the 11*th* of *June*, Major-general *Nugent* marched against a large body of rebels, who retired, on his approach, to a strong position on the *Saintfield* side of *Ballinahinch*, and there made a shew of resistance, endeavouring to turn his left flank; but Colonel *Stewart* arrived from Down, with a pretty considerable force of infantry, cavalry, and yeomanry, they soon desisted, and retired to a very strong position behind Balinahinch. General *Nugent* attacked them the next morning at 3 o'clock, having occupied two hills on the left and right of the town, to prevent the rebels having any other choice than the mountains in their rere, for their retreat; he sent Lieutenant-Colonel *Stewart* to post himself, with a part of the Argyle fencibles and some yeomanry, as well as a detachment of the 22d light dragoons, in a situation from whence he could enfilade the rebel line; whilst Colonel *Leslie*, with part of the Monaghan militia, some cavalry, and yeomen infantry, should make an attack upon their front. The rebels impetuously attacked Colonel *Lesly's* detachment, and even jumped into the road, from the Earl of *Moira's* demesne, to endeavour to take one of his guns; but they were repulsed with slaughter. Lieutenant-colonel *Stewart's* detachment was attacked by them with the same activity, but he repulsed them also; and the fire from his howitzer and six-pounder, soon obliged

obliged them to fly in all directions. Their force was very considerable; about 400 of them were killed in the attack and retreat, and the remainder dispersed all over the country their principal leader, one *Munro*, was afterwards taken. Parts of the town of *Ballynahinch* and *Saintfield* were burnt. In this engagement, Captain Evatt, of the Monaghan militia, was killed; and Lieutenant *Ellis*, of the same regiment, wounded. The loss of rank and file, was 5 killed and 14 wounded. Major-general *Nugent* acknowledged the services received from Lieut.-Col. *Peacock*, and Major of brigade, *Machinnor*.

On the 11th of June, the *Portaferry* yeomanry, under the command of Captain Matthews, made a most gallant defence against a large body of rebels who attacked the town of *Portaferry*; the yeomen having taken possession of the market-house, from which post they repulsed the rebels, who left behind them about 40 dead, and many more were carried off. Captain Hopkins, of a revenue cruiser, brought his guns to bear upon the town, and was of great service in defending it.

On the 12*th* of *June*, Major-general Sir Charles *Asgill* having heard that a large body of the rebels had marched from the county of Wexford against *Borris*, and were burning the town; he proceeded to it's relief with 400 men, but the rebels had fled before he could arrive; they had attacked the house of a Mr. *Kavanagh*, in which were 29 men of the Donegal militia, who, notwithstanding the incessant fire kept on them for some hours, defended themselves in the most gallant manner, and killed several of the insurgents. Nothing could surpass the determined bravery of these few men. The rebels effected their escape into the county of Wexford.

On the

On the 13*th* of *June*, a letter received by Lieutenant general *Lake* from Major-general *Johnſton* at New-Roſs of this date, ſtated, that having received information that the rebels had fitted out ſeveral boats and other craft, for the purpoſe of effecting their eſcape, he ſent Lieutenant Hill, with ſuch armed veſſels as could be ſpared from *Fethard*, where they were collected, with orders to deſtroy the whole; which Lieutenant *Hill* effected with his uſual ſpirit, and without loſs; thirteen large ſailing hookers, and a great many ſmall boats, were burnt.

A letter alſo received from Major-general Sir Charles *Aſgill* ſtated, that Captain *Heatly*, of the Wicklow militia, had fallen in with a party of the rebels near *Roar*, on returning from *Roſs* to *Gowran*, and killed forty of them. The pariſh of *Roar*, and the adjoining pariſhes, offered to ſurrender their arms.

On the 16*th* of *June*, advices were received from Major-general *Nugent*, by which it appeared, that the rebels who had been defeated at *Ballinahinch* petitioned for pardon, and offered to ſurrender up all their arms and ammunition: the Major-general, in reply, promiſed to accept their ſubmiſſion, on the condition of their giving up their leader, *Munro*, and the other principal traitors who had inſtigated them to their late wicked practices; they were to have ſurrendered on the 15th, by 12 o'clock; however, *Munro* was taken, by general *Nugent*, early on that morning. The general ſtated his acknowledgments for the ſervices of Major-general *Barber*; and mentioned, with great ſatisfaction, the conduct of Mr. *Boyd* of Ballycaſtle. The general went, on the Friday before, to Colerain; where he collected the *Dunſevenich* and *Giant's-Cauſeway* corps, with which, together with his own, he returned to *Ballycaſtle*, and beat the rebels out of that place; and then proceeded

ceeded to punish them between that town and *Glenarm*. The rebel commander *Munro* was tried by a court-martial, and executed; on the trial, the following proclamation was produced and proved, viz.

" *General Munro's proclamation to his army, and the inhabi-*
" *tants of the county of Down.*

" *Not to pay any rent to the disaffected landlords, as such rent*
" *is confiscated to the use of the national liberty war.*

" *Head-quarters, Ballynahinch, 12th June, 1798.*

The following curious letter from *Munro*, directed to citizen *Townshend* of Ballynahinch, was also produced and proved.

" *Worthy Citizens,*

" We have some small reinforcement, say 300 men: I
" hear your's is much more; I hope the defenders have
" rallied to you; send me express. I send you some ball-
" cartridges. You must press for provisions as we do;
" I will send you some more to-day, and any thing that
" can be got here.

" *MUNRO.*

" *Tuesday morning,*

" The citizens are in choice spirits, longing for action.

" *Health and Respect.*

On the *17th* of *June*, at 11 o'clock at night, a recruit of Captain *Clerk's* gave information that the town of *Kilbeggan* would be attacked on the next day. As many similar alarms had been circulated before, this was not much regarded; however, the videts of horse were ordered to keep a careful look out, and give instant intelligence, should

ſhould any numbers of men be deſcried by them. At break of day, ſome perſons were perceived on the top of a hill weſtward of the town; immediate notice was given to the commanding officer, who directed that the horſe guard ſhould continue to obſerve the motions of the enemy; and ſhould their numbers increaſe, to retreat ſlowly about two hundred yards in front to the town and appriſe him of the ſame.

It ſoon appeared that their force was between 3 and 4000, divided into bands, from 60 to an hundred, in regular order, with different kinds of arms, principally pikes, from five to ten feet long; pitchforks, &c. Each band moved ſeparately, headed by an officer diſtinguiſhed by a green ſaſh or cockade: moſt of the men had white paper bands round their hats. It was remarked that many of them were intoxicated. There were then under arms, 60 of the Northumberland fencibles, about 30 of the Fertullagh cavalry, and 30 loyal proteſtants, who either belonged to the town, or had fled there for refuge. On the firſt appearance of the rebels, an expreſs was ſent to *Tullamore*, where the principal part of the 7th dragoons lay; General Dunn forwarded a troop of about 80 men. The rebels, at firſt, began an attack on the hills, and obliged the fencibles to retreat to the town; mean time, the loyaliſts cleared the ſtreets, which had been full of rebels, without the loſs of a man; the cavalry purſued, and theſe, aided by a diſmounted party, who, on hearing the firing, had haſtened here from Tyrrell's-paſs, defeated the enemy, and killed four hundred of them.

Theſe circumſtances having taken place, advices were afterwards received from Waterford, that General Johnſon had marched from Roſs to attack the rebels at Larkin-hill, within two miles of that place, where they had

had been encamped for some time. On the approach of the military, they fled in all directions; leaving their camp, a large quantity of provisions, &c. &c. behind them; the army continued it's rout; and the following letter was found in the rebel camp, directed to citizen Roach, commanding the camp at Larkin-hill, before Ross.

June 16th, 1798.

"*Dear Citizens*,

"We shall at all times be anxious to comply with your "wishes; we have before us a message from citizen *Hughes*, "expressing your wish to have all the men in *Forth* and "*Bargy* in your camp. Taking that demand in the full "extent, we cannot comply with it; there are many "reasons against it; for instance, the protection of the "coast, provisions, &c. &c. We have, however, now "issued orders, desiring all unmarried men to repair to "camp immediately. We did so before, but they were "not fully obeyed; at the present time, particular obedi- "ence will be enforced; and we trust you will shortly "find at your camp a number of fresh young fellows, "as well appointed and provided as your best efforts can "accomplish; and we trust, you will find in them the "means of gratifying your wishes on the subject; we wish "you every success in our glorious cause.

"*Health and fraternity.*

"Council chamber,
"Wexford.

By order of the council.

NICH. GRAY, Sec.

"*P. S.* The appearance of the armed vessels off our "coast, will enforce the necessity of keeping the married "men at home, until a fresh occasion calls upon them."

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Attack at Ballynaſcarty.—Ponſonby-bridge.—Blackſtaine's-mountains.—Rebel proclamation at Wexford.—Engagement at Vinegar-hill.—Propoſals from Matt. Keoughe to General Lake.—Proceedings at Goff's-bridge.—Gore's-bridge.—Shano-hill.—Hackets-town.—Kilconnel-hill.—Fox's-hill.—Carnew.—Ballymanus.—Wicklow-gap.—Kilreiny.—Robertstown.—Clonard.—Free pardon held out.—Amneſty bill,—Arrival of the French at Killala.—Lord Cornwallis marches againſt the enemy.

ON the 19th June, Sir *Hugh O'Reilly*, Lieutenant-colonel of the Weſtmeath militia, with part of his regiment, were attacked on their march from *Cloghnakilty* to *Bandon*, near a village called *Ballynaſcarty*, by a party of the rebels, who had taken up the beſt poſition on the whole march. The attack was made with great rapidity, and without the leaſt previous notice. The rebels were repulſed, with conſiderable loſs. A detachment of the Caithneſs legion, under the command of Major *Innes*, was then on it's march to Cloghnakilty ; and hearing the firing, very critically came up to the aſſiſtance of Sir *Hugh O'Reilly*.

On the 20th June, Lieutenant *Peace*, of the city of Cork militia, ſent a ſerjeant and four men to eſcort a priſoner from

from *Hazelhatch* to *Sallins*; at *Ponsonby-bridge*, they fell in with a number of rebels; the serjeant immediately retired, and sent off an orderly with the account; the Lieutenant immediately dispatched a serjeant and eight men to his assistance; and being joined on the spot by three of the yeomanry, an engagement took place, in which 25 of the rebels were killed, and the remainder completely routed.

Same day, Major-general Sir Charles *Asgill* marched from *Borris*, to attack a parcel of the rebels who had collected at *Blackstair's-mountains*; the general's force was divided into two divisions, that took different routes; they found the rebels scattered through the country in great numbers; Lord *Loftus*, of the Wexford militia, commanded one party, and the Hon. Colonel *Howard*, of the Wicklow, the other, under the direction of Sir Charles; upwards of an 100 of the insurgents were killed, the rest dispersed, and several guns and pikes taken.

We come now to mention something of the affairs at Wexford; previous to which, it may be proper to notice the following curious proclamation, which was issued there the beginning of June, 1798, viz.

"*Proclamation of the people of the county of Wexford.*

"Whereas, it stands manifestly notorious, that *James* "*Boyde*, *Hawtry White*, *Hunter Gowan*, and *Archibald* "*Hamilton Jacob*, late magistrates of the county, have "committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence and "oppression, against our peaceable and well affected coun- "trymen; Now *we*, *the people*, associated and united for "the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being "determined to protect the persons and properties of those "of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and

" and are willing, with heart and hand, to join our glo-
" rious cauſe, as well as to ſhew our marked diſapproba-
" tion and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents,
" do call on our countrymen at large, to uſe every exertion
" in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforeſaid
" James *Boyd*, &c. &c. and to ſecure and convey them to
" the gaol of Wexford, to be brought before the *tribunal of*
" *the people.*

" Done at Wexford, this 9th day of June, 1798.
" *God ſave the People.*"

It has been already mentioned, that a conſiderable rebel force had been encamped on *Vinegar-hill.* This hill is very ſteep, riſing in the form of a cone; at the but of it, are two other hills, with quick-ſets and other ditches acroſs them; a river runs at the bottom of both; and adjacent is a ſmall wood. At the bottom of *Vinegar-hill* lies the town of *Enniſcorthy*; and on the top of the great hill, are the remains of an old wind-mill, on which the rebels had placed their *green flag* of defiance.

On the 21ſt of June, about 7 o'clock in the morning, Lieutenant-general *Lake* attacked the rebels at *Vinegar-hill*; and in an hour and a half, they were diſperſed. A column under Major-generals Johnſon and Euſtace was drawn from Roſs, and they began the attack upon the town of *Enniſcorthy*; Lieutenant-general *Dundas* commanded the center column; another on the left, was commanded by Major-general *Needham*. The rebels, for ſome time, maintained their ground obſtinately; but perceiving the danger of being ſurrounded, they fled with great precipitation. At this engagement, Lieutenant *Sandys*, of the Longford regiment, was killed. Colonel *King*, of the Sligo; Lord *Blaney* and Colonel *Veſey*, of the county of Dublin regiment; and Lieutenant-colonel *Cole*, was wounded. There was a dread-

ful ſlaughter of the rebels; from whom were taken 3 braſs ſix-pounders, 1 three-pounder, 7 one pounder, 3 howitzers, of different dimenſions, and a great quantity of ammunition. In the official accounts, General *Lake* acknowledged the ſervices he received from Colonel *Campbell*, Major-general *Hewitt* and *Cradock*, Lord *Glentworth*, Lieutenant-colonel *Blythe*, Lieutenant-colonel *Meade*, Earl of *Ancram*, Lord *Roden*, Captain *Bloomfield*, of the Britiſh, and Capt. *Crawford*, of the royal Iriſh artillery, and Captain *Nicholſon*, the General's aid-de-camp, &c.

The inſurgents, at this time, committed the moſt horrid atrocities in the town and county of Wexford. Many proteſtants were tortured and put to the moſt cruel deaths, particularly in the town; of which, it was before obſerved, the rebels had entire poſſeſſion. The particulars relative to theſe proceedings, will be noticed in a ſubſequent part of our hiſtory; the audacity, however, of the rebel party, appears from the following propoſal made, on their part, to Lieutenant-gen. *Lake*, as follows:

"That Captain *M'Manus* ſhall proceed from Wexford "towards Oulard, accompanied by *E. Hay*, appointed by "the inhabitants of all religious perſuaſions, to inform the "officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready "to deliver up the town of Wexford without oppoſition, "lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, "provided that their perſons and properties are guaranteed "by the commanding officer; and that they will uſe every "influence in their power to induce the people of the coun-"try at large to return to their allegiance alſo. Theſe "terms, we hope, Captain *M'Manus* will be able to "procure. Signed, by order of the inhabitants of Wex-"ford.

MATT. KEUGHE."

To

To these proposals General *Lake* returned the following answer,

"Lieutenant-general *Lake* cannot attend to any terms, "offered by rebels in arms against their Sovereign; whilst "they continue so, he must use the force entrusted to "him with the utmost energy for their destruction. To "the deluded multitude, he promises pardon, on their de- "livering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their "arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

"*Enniscorthy*, 22*d* June, 1798."

The above-mentioned Mr. *Keughe*, a Mr. *Roache*, with other principal persons concerned in this insurrection, soon afterward fell into the hands of General *Lake*; who in a few days obtained possession of Wexford, to the inexpressible joy of the unfortunate protestants, who had been in momentary expectation of death. This fortunate event may be attributed to the success of Brigadier-general *Moore*, who in a letter to Major-general *Johnson*, dated the 22*d* of June, from the camp above Wexford, mentions; That on the evening of the 18*th*, he had taken post, near *Fookes'-mill*, in the park of Mr. Sutton. He next day sent a strong detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson to patrole towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and communicate with the troops directed to join him from Duncannon. The Lieutenant-colonel found the country deserted, and got no tidings of the troops. General *Moore* waited for them some time, and despairing of their arrival, began his march to Taghmon. Having marched about half a mile, he perceived a considerable body of rebels advancing towards him. He sent his van guard to skirmish with them, whilst a howitzer and a six-pounder were directed to a cross road above Goffs-bridge, and some companies of light infantry formed on each side of them, under Lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson.

The

The rebels attempted to attack these, but were instantly repulsed, and driven beyond the bridge. "A large body "(says General Moore) were perceived at the same time "moving towards my left. Major Aylmer, and afterwards "Major Daniel, with five companies of light infantry, and "a six-pounder were detached against them. The 60th "regiment finding no further opposition in front, had of "themselves inclined to the left, to engage the body which "was attempting to turn us. The action here was for a "short time pretty sharp. The rebels were in great num-"bers, armed with both muskets and pikes. They were, "however, forced to give way and driven, (tho' they "repeatedly attempted to form,) behind the ditch. They "at last dispersed, flying towards Enniscorthy and Wex-"ford. Major Daniel received a wound in the knee; the "business, which began between three and four, was not "over 'till eight; it was then too late to proceed to Tagh-"mon; I therefore took post for the night on the ground "where the action commenced. As the rebels gave way, "I was informed of the approach of the 2nd and 29th "regiments, under Lord Dalhousie. In the morning of "the 21st, we were proceeding to Taghmon; on my ar-"rival, the rebels fled over the bridge of Wexford, to-"wards the barony of Forth," &c. In this defeat, the force of the rebels appears to have been between three and four thousand.

On the 22d June, Sir Charles Asgill received information early this morning, that the rebels, amounting to several thousands, had escaped from the county of Wexford, and formed at Kellymount, and were proceeding to Gore's-bridge He instantly assembled all the force he could collect, and marched towards them; However, he did not arrive in time to prevent their defeating the detachment which was at that place, and taking 24 men of the Wexford militia prisoners; they marched off rapidly towards Leighlin,

Leighlin, and took their position at Shanohill, intending to form a junction with the colliers at Castlecomer. As soon as the troops were prepared to move, Sir Charles marched to attack them; they had, however, before his arrival, burned the town, and forced the soldiers who were in it to retire; on his arrival, he attacked the rebels on all sides, and dispersed them with great slaughter, about 400 of them being killed; they were commanded by one Father Murphy. The force against them consisted of the Wexford and Wicklow militia, under the command of Lord *Loftus* and the honourable Colonel *Howard*; the cavalry were commanded by Major *Donaldson* of the 7th dragoons, and Major *Bernard* of the Romney fencibles; with several yeomanry corps from Kilkenny and Carlow.

On the 25th June, early this morning, a body of rebels, consisting of several thousands, marched from the mountains of Wicklow to attack Hacketstown: on seeing them approach, Lieutenant Gardiner, of the Antrim militia, with the troops under his command, took post on the most advantageous ground near the town, in order to prevent the rebels from gaining possession of it; but, after a short attack, they filed off in different directions, with an intent to surround him, and cut him off. Lieutenant *Gardiner* then retreated with the infantry, to line the walls and windows of the barrack. A contest ensued, in the midst of flame (the rebels having set fire to the town) for nine hours; when they were obliged to retreat. 30 carloads of their killed and wounded were carried off by them in their retreat; and many of their dead were found in the streets and ditches. Captain *Hardy*, of the Hacketstown infantry, fell early in the action. Considering the severity of this engagement, the loss, on the part of the army, was comparatively small.

On

On the 26th of June, Sir Charles Asgill, who commanded at Kilkenny, fearing the consequences that might result from allowing the rebels to remain any length of time in that neighbourhood, (whither they had fled from Wexford) resolved to attack them, without waiting for any reinforcement. He had then about 1100 men; the rebels amounted to near 5000. He engaged with them at six o'clock in the morning, at Kilconnel-hill, near Gore's-bridge, and soon defeated them. Ten pieces of cannon, two swivels, and a quantity of arms, ammunition, cattle, &c. &c. were taken. In this engagement, Lieutenant *Stanes*, of the Mount-Leinster yeomanry, was unfortunately killed.

The considerable loss which the rebels had hitherto suffered, was thought sufficient now to convince them of their disability to succeed in their designs; and government therefore humanely offered them an opportunity of preventing further destruction. A proclamation was issued, enabling the respective generals commanding in the different districts, to offer pardon and amnesty to such of the deluded insurgents as should come in to an appointed place in each county, and surrender and give up their arms, in fourteen days from the date hereof; and certificates of protection to be granted to all who should take the oath of allegiance, abjure their former treasonable obligations, and give security for future good behaviour.

On the 29th June, Lieutenant *Tyrrell*, of the Clonard corps, having received information that a body of the rebels had stationed themselves upon a hill near his dwelling-house at Kilreiny, assembled a force, and proceeded to Fox's-hill, where they were posted, to the number of 600; an attack was commenced; and they were routed with considerable slaughter.

On

On the 3d of July, about 2000 of the rebels attacked the town of *Carnew*, upon the confines of the counties of Wexford and Wicklow. A ſmall party of the Antient Britons, who were coming to the aid of the yeomanry at Carnew, ſuffered much on the occaſion. The rebels having artfully prevented the communication by barriers of baggage and carriages; which, while the Antient Britons were endeavouring to force, the rebels, in a great body, fell upon their rere, and put them to death, after a very gallant reſiſtance. The yeomanry, however, repulſed them; but could not prevent that town from being deſtroyed. The rebels afterwards concentered their troops near the hill of Ballymanus, in the county of Wicklow.

On the 4th July, Major-general *Needham* and Sir James *Duff* proceeded to ſurpriſe a large body of rebels that were poſted at the White-heaps. The rebels having moved from their poſt, were met by Sir James *Duff's* column at the Wicklow-gap; and, after a few cannon ſhot, they retreated: Sir James purſued: General *Needham's* column was at too great a diſtance for his infantry to aſſiſt; but his cavalry joined in the purſuit, which continued for 12 miles; when they were ſtopped on ſome riſing grounds: here the regiments under Sir *James* coming up with their curricle guns, the rebels were put completely to flight, with very conſiderable ſlaughter.

On the 11th July, Lieutenant *Tyrrell*, of Kilreiny, who has been already mentioned, received information at that place from Mr. *Richard Allen*, that a conſiderable rebel force was then approaching: upon which every poſſible preparation was made to oppoſe them. As the enemy was expected from the Dublin ſide, ſix men of the Clonard corps took poſſeſſion of an old turret at the extremity of *Mr. Tyrrell's* garden, and which commanded the road.

Such

Such was the rapidity with which the rebels advanced, that the firing actually commenced from this quarter upon their cavalry, before the entire guard could be collected; and the gate leading into the court-yard was obliged to be closed: whereby several, who could otherwise have assisted, were necessarily excluded; and when Mr. *Tyrrell* came to ascertain his force, he found he had only *twenty-seven* men, including three of his sons, the eldest of whom was only seventeen years old. After sending a supply of ammunition to the advanced post at the turret, and stationing other outposts, he retired into the house with the main body; and placing them at particular windows, gave directions that they should not fire without having their object covered; he had the rest of the men secured behind the walls, and incessantly employed in loading muskets and carabines for the marksmen at the windows. About 300 rebel cavalry, led on by one Farrell, formed their advanced guard, and approached the turret in a small trot, without appearing to apprehend any danger. The first shot was fired by young Mr. *Tyrrell*, which mortally wounded *Farrell*; and being followed by a general discharge from the rest among the body of the cavalry, threw them into great confusion, in which state they fled out of the reach of the firing; the infantry coming up, contrived to pass the turret under cover of the wall; and numbers were posted behind a thick hedge on the opposite side of the road, from which they kept up a smart fire against the turret, but without doing any material mischief. The intention of the enemy was now to surround the house; and they stationed a guard upon the bridge, many of whom were shot by the marksmen from the windows, upon which the rest fled: this was of great importance to the little garrison in Clonard, as the communication with the western road was, in great measure, preserved. The enemy now contrived to penetrate into the garden; and some of them rushed immediately into the turret; the yeomen stationed there were upon

upon an upper floor; they had the precaution to drag up the ladder by which they aſcended; the rebels endeavouring to climb up, were ſhot as ſoon as they appeared; twenty-ſeven of them lay dead on the ground-floor. Finding their efforts ineffectual, they collected a quantity of ſtraw, and ſoon ſet fire to the turret. Two of the yeomen, endeavouring to eſcape the flames, viz. Mr. *Cuſack* and Mr. George *Tyrrell*, were immediately killed; the reſt of the party eſcaped, by leaping from a window twenty feet high, into a hay yard; from whence, under cover of a wall that divided it from the garden, they got into the houſe. The rebels now ſet fire to the toll-houſe, and ſome other cabins near the bridge; the battle had laſted near ſix hours; when, at length, ſome aſſiſtance was diſcovered advancing towards the houſe; for one of the guard who had been excluded by the ſhutting of the gates, repaired to Kinnegad; and repreſented the ſituation of his friends at Clonard, a party of the Kinnegad infantry, under Lieutenant *Houghton*, with a few of the Northumberland fencibles, marched to their relief; on their arrival, Mr. *Tyrrell* ſallied from the houſe; and having effected a junction with this reinforcement, the town, after a ſmart engagement was entirely cleared of the rebels, who fled in great numbers; unfortunately, the brave Mr. Richard *Allen*, who had ſo gallantly defended the turret, was mortally wounded.

On the 13th of July, a party of the Nethercroſs cavalry fell in with a body of the rebels at Robertſtown; and after bravely cutting their way through them, and killing ſeveral, brought the intelligence to government. They ſoon afterwards went again in ſearch of the rebels, who had then fled from Robertſtown, and were met by them near Chapelwidway, where they took ſeveral priſoners; and afterwards ſurpris'd a party of them at St. Margaret's whom they purſued with ſpirit, killed ſeveral, and took a quantity of arms and ammunition. The

The rebels who had been defeated at Clonard moved towards Longwood, and were purſued by a detachment under Brig-general Meyrick almoſt to Culmullin. Several of them were killed, and others taken priſoners. However, the main body reached Dunboyne, and proceeded to the hill at Garretſtown; in conſequence of which, Major-general *Myers* went with a party in purſuit of them; but they paſſed in the night over the river Boyne; they were purſued by two diviſions under Major-general *Wemys* and Major-general *Meyrick*; and their cavalry having come up with them, the rebels formed a ſtrong poſition in the road to Ardee. On the arrival of the Sutherland regiment with the battalion guns, the rebels fell into confuſion, and broke in all directions; the principal party of them fled into the bog; where being followed, many of them were deſtroyed, and a number of pikes, fire-arms, &c. were taken. The rebels, in their retreat over the Boyne towards Garriſtown, were alſo attacked by a detachment under Captain *Gordon*; who took from them 200 horſes, and killed about 150 inſurgents.

It was now reported, that the mountains of Wicklow afforded a retreat to a large body of the rebel fugitives; and Lieutenant-general *Lake* was ſent, with different columns in various directions, to clear that part of the country. On his return he brought the pleaſing intelligence that he could not find any party of them whatever aſſembled in that direction. The Lieutenant-general gave the higheſt credit to the perſeverance and ſpirit of the troops, during very long and difficult marches, through a country almoſt inacceſſible to an army. The fact was, the rebels had previouſly paſſed over to the Bog of Allen.

On the 17th July, Lord Caſtlereagh read to the houſe of commons a meſſage from his excellency the Lord Lieutenant,

tenant, importing his majesty's orders to acquaint the house, that, wishing to exercise his royal prerogative of mercy, he held forth a free pardon and oblivion to all past offences, with such exceptions and conditions as should be deemed absolutely necessary to the public safety, and had affixed his royal signature to a bill for that purpose; the message further recommended to the house, to make the sufferings of his Majesty's loyal subjects a part of it's deliberations, and to adopt measures for ascertaining and indemnifying their losses, &c.

Some days after, an express arrived in Dublin with the intelligence that a large body of insurgents had assembled at *Nine-mile-house*. General Sir Charles *Asgill* instantly proceeded with a force under his command to that place: but General Myers having also received similar accounts on the road, he put himself at the head of a body of yeomanry and militia, and arrived there before Sir Charles; the rebels did not wait his approach, but fled in all directions. General Myers then proceeded to *Clonmel*. A number of the rebels afterwards assembled to attack *Callan*; but they were also routed, with considerable loss.

The amnesty bill, which has been already noticed, having given the disaffected party an opportunity of saving themselves from punishment by a compliance with it's provisions, and the designs of it's leaders being hitherto defeated, the principal persons concerned in this rebellion now thought it advisable to make the best capitulation they could with government; and accordingly they proposed to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant, to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of them would give detailed information of every transaction that had passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; without, however, naming or describing, so as to implicate

any

any perſon whatever; and that they were ready to emigrate to ſuch country as ſhould be agreed upon between them and government, giving ſecurity not to return to this kingdom without permiſſion; and not to paſs into an enemy's country; if, on their ſo doing, they ſhould be freed from proſecution; and that Mr. Oliver *Bond* * was to be permitted to take the benefit of the ſaid propoſal." The ſtate priſoners alſo hoped that the benefit of ſuch propoſal would be extended to ſuch perſons in cuſtody as might chooſe to claim it. This propoſal was ſigned by *Arthur O'Connor*, *Thomas Addis Emmet*, *William M'Nevin*, *Samuel Neilſon*, *Henry Jackſon*, *John Sweetman*, and upwards of ſeventy other priſoners. In conſequence of this propoſal, ſeveral of the ſubſcribers thereto were afterwards examined before the houſe of commons; and the facts diſcloſed by them are fully ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of that houſe in 1798.

The different engagements already ſtated between the King's forces and the rebels, are the moſt material that occurr'd during the rebellion, 'till the arrival of a body of French troops, which is hereafter mentioned. Some trifling conteſts took place between ſmall parties on both ſides, that, being of leſs importance, have not been particularly noticed. On the 24th of Auguſt, the following letter was received by the Lord Mayor of Dublin from Lord Caſtlereagh, as ſecretary to the Lord Lieutenant.

"I have the honour to acquaint your lordſhip, by com-
"mand of my Lord Lieutenant, that intelligence is juſt
"received, that, on the evening of the 22d Inſt. a ſmall
"French ſquadron conſiſting, as it is ſtated, of four ſhips,
"has

* Mr. Bond was at this time confined and under ſentence of death; his execution was, in conſequence of this application, deferred; but he died ſuddenly in priſon a ſhort time after.

" has appeared in the bay of *Killala*, and landed part of " their men; the amount of this force is not yet aſcertained. " I am, at the ſame time, to acquaint your lordſhip, that " a ſquadron of his Majeſty's ſhips, conſiſting of a line of " battle ſhips and five frigates, are cruiſing off the N, W. " coaſt; and there is good reaſon to hope, they will fall " in with the enemy."

On the 26th of Auguſt, diſpatches were received from the honourable Major-general *Hutchinſon* at Caſtlebar, which ſtated, that the French troops had diſembarked at Killala, but had not then attempted to march into the country; that they had not yet been joined by any number of the inhabitants; and that the Major-gen. was proceeding to act againſt the enemy with the king's troops, who were receiving every aſſiſtance from the people of the country.

His Excellency the Marq. *Cornwallis* thought proper, however, to act againſt the enemy in perſon; and, on the following day, he embarked at the grand canal harbour for *Tullamore*, at the head of 1000 men, drafted from the regiments then in the garriſon of Dublin. The number of the enemy who had landed, conſiſted of above 1000 rank and file, with a very conſiderable proportion of officers, and three pieces of cannon. We ſhall now proceed to ſtate, from the beſt authority and moſt accurate information we could collect, the ſeveral events which took place on this occaſion.

A ſmall party of the Leiceſter fencible infantry, under Lieutenant *Hills* of that regiment, and the yeomanry of the town of Killala, attempted to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy to the town, but were ſurrounded and taken priſoners, having three men killed. The biſhop of Killala, Dean *Thompſon*, and ſome other clergymen, were alſo made

made prisoners by the French; (who upon entering the town, distributed a number of inflammatory hand-bills to the populace, declaring themselves friends to the people, and their deliverers from oppression. On the morning of the 24th of August, the French marched from Killala towards *Ballina*; but meeting with greater opposition than they probably expected, they retreated to Killala. In the evening, Major *Keir* having been reinforced by several corps of yeomanry, advanced to within one mile and a half of Killala; but was obliged to fall back, after an unsuccessful skirmish, in which the Reverend Mr. *Forteſcue*, rector of Ballina, and two men of the Carabiniers, were wounded, the former mortally. In the retreat, Major *Keir* met Colonel Sir *Thomas Chapman*, who was advancing with three troops of the carabiniers, and some infantry. Sir *Thomas Chapman* having collected the troops, took post on an eminence near Moyne-abbey, whence he retreated, unmolested, at 12 o'clock at night, through Ballina to Foxford. Brigadier-general *Taylor* had, on this day, marched from Sligo, with a detachment of the Leicester fencibles and some yeomanry, towards Ballina; but finding that place had been occupied by the French upon the retreat of the king's troops, he returned to Sligo. Lieut.-gen. *Lake* was appointed to proceed to Galway, and take the command of the troops assembling in Connaught; Lord *Cornwallis* meaning, in person, to collect the troops that could be marched from Leinster at Athlone or Carrick-on-Shannon, as circumstances should point out. Major-general *Nugent* was directed to assemble a corps on the frontier of his direction (the *Northern*) towards Sligo. Other necessary dispositions took place.

On the 25th of August, Major-gen. *Hutchinson* arrived at Castlebar; he found the country through which he had passed in a state of tranquillity; but a report prevailed, that the French who remained at Killala and Ballina had been joined by 1800 men; which induced the General to write

to

to Lord *Cornwallis* for further assistance, before he would attempt to attack them.

Lord *Cornwallis* proceeded to Philipstown with his forces; who, in the space of two days, had made a progress of about 60 English miles. In the mean time, reports were received from Major-gen. *Dundas* who commanded in the county of Kildare, that a general insurrection was intended in that county; in consequence, he had been under the necessity of detaining part of the reinforcements ordered to Connaught.

On the 27th of August, the French troops, about 7 o'clock this morning, commenced an attack on Major-gen. *Hutchinson's* corps at Castlebar; who had, the night before, been joined by General *Lake*. The enemy advanced in regular order upon the king's troops, having been joined by about 1500 rebels; the artillery, under Captain *Shortall*, was admirably served, and made a visible impression; insomuch, that the enemy's advance was actually checked, and they began to disperse; at this critical moment, our troops, as if seized with a sudden panic, and without any apparent reason, gave way; and notwithstanding every effort of the Generals and all their officers, they could not be rallied; but retired, in confusion, thro' Castlebar towards Hollymount. Lord *Roden's* fencible dragoons, on this occasion, shewed great gallantry; they protected the retreat of the infantry; and even recovered a six-pounder which the French had pushed forward through Castlebar. The skeleton of the 6th regiment, under Major *Machean*, also behaved with great spirit in the action; the enemy, however, suffered severely. The total loss, on the part of the army, appears to have been, 1 serjeant, 52 rank and file, killed; 2 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 29 rank and file wounded; a few officers, and 251 rank and file, missing. Of the soldiers of the Longford and Kilkenny militia that

were

were returned missing, it seems the greater part had deserted to the enemy. There was also taken by the enemy some field-pieces and a quantity of ammunition.

CHAP

CHAP. XIII.

Further particulars of the proceedings at Caſtlebar.—Lord Cornwallis proceeds to Athlone.—Encamps near Ballinamore.—Moves onward to Knock-hill.—Tuam.—Hollymount.—Mohill.—Proceedings at Ballinamuck; defeat of the rebels and French.

THE proceedings at Caſtlebar are thus related more in detail, by Sir R. Muſgrave.

"Major-general Hutchinſon arrived at Caſtlebar on the twenty-fifth, and made proper diſpoſitions to receive the enemy. Two roads led from Ballina to Caſtlebar; one to the eaſt of Lough Conn, by Foxford, a village eleven miles from Caſtlebar, and ſituated on the river Moy, which is broad and deep, and is croſſed by a bridge of many arches. As this is by far the beſt road, general Hutchinſon detached the Kerry regiment, with their battalion guns, to defend that paſs, and brigadier-general *Taylor* arrived there alſo, with a detachment of regular troops and yeomanry. As there is a very ſtrong paſs, called Barnageehy, on the other road, to the weſt of Lough Conn, and as it is far leſs practicable, and therefore much leſs frequented than the road by Foxford, it was univerſally believed, and it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the French would make their approach by the latter; and it is moſt certain that general Humbert, openly and ſedulouſly announced, ſome hours before he marched, that he would proceed by Foxford, intelligence of which was conveyed to generals Hutchinſon and Trench; and the better to deceive them, he marched

part of the road towards Foxford, and then turning ſuddenly to the right, he proceeded by Lough Conn, where a narrow paſs, called Barnageehy, through a defile in a high range of mountains, is ſo ſtrong by nature, that one company with a battalion gun poſted there would have checked the progreſs of the French. But for the reaſons which I have aſſigned, generals Hutchinſon and Trench could not have the moſt remote ſuſpicion that the French would advance by that road.

"At the hour of 3 o'clock in the morning, a yeoman, who had been viſiting his farm near Barnageehy, arrived, and informed general Trench that he had ſeen a large body of men in blue cloaths advancing that way; on which the general proceeded to reconnoitre, attended by a few dragoons; but when he had advanced about three miles from Caſtlebar, he was fired on by the advanced guard of the French. He then returned with the utmoſt ſpeed, and marched the garriſon to a riſing ground outſide the town, which he had fixed on the preceeding day as an alarm poſt, ſhould the enemy advance to attack them. It was on a hill at the north-weſt extremity of the town, running from eaſt to weſt, and commanding a riſing ground oppoſite to it, over which the French muſt neceſſarily paſs, and at the diſtance of about one thouſand yards.

"Our line was drawn up in the following order; the Kilkenny militia, the ſkeleton of the 6th regiment of foot, and a ſubaltern's detachment of the Prince of Wales's fencibles, formed the firſt line. The Fraſer fencibles, with a ſmall corps of Galway yeomen infantry, formed a ſecond line; but both drawn up in irregular lines, ſo as to occupy the ſummits of the heights they were deſtined to defend. The four companies of the Longford were drawn up in a valley in the rere, and a little on the left of the main body of the Kilkenny. The cavalry conſiſted of the 1ſt fencibles, and

and a part of the 6th dragoon guards, were ſtationed in the rear of the firſt line, ſome piquets excepted, who had been previouſly ſent out, and ſome yeomen cavalry, who were poſted in different quarters.

" Captain Shortall, who commanded the artillery, took poſt with two curricle guns in front of the firſt line, conſiſting of the 6th infantry and the Kilkenny, who were a little to his right, to ſupport that flank; the two battalion guns attached to the Kilkenny militia being on his left, ſeparated by the road, but parallel to him. He left the two other curricle guns in the centre of the town, in an open ſpace, under Lieutenant Blundel of the artillery.

" They remained in this ſituation till near eight o'clock, when the enemy appeared in columns, advancing over the riſing ground in front. When the French general viewed our line, he covered his column deep with rebels, dreſſed in French uniforms, to draw the fire on them, and from his own men. A numerous rabble, who were all plunderers, attended them alſo.

" When they had nearly gained the ſummit of the hill, a round ſhot from captain Shortall's right gun ſtruck the head of their column, and nearly divided it in two parts. This made them fall back, ſeemingly in confuſion; but in ſome time advancing again, a ſhot from the ſecond gun ſtruck them with the ſame effect as the firſt, with this difference, that the part of the column on the right of where his ſhot entered ruſhed forward (about fifty yards) to the cover of a houſe, on which the captain found it neceſſary to direct his fire againſt the main body, and ſoon ſucceeded in driving them back. After this the enemy diſappeared for a few minutes, when they advanced a third time in the ſame direction, but endeavouring to deſtroy the

effect

effect of the ſhot, by forcing ſome cattle into their front. In this attempt they were alſo fruſtrated, and obliged to retire under cover of the hill. In a ſhort time they were perceived departing from the centre, which was performed in a quick and maſterly ſtyle, with the files very open. In this manner their line advanced, until it was contiguous to the place from whence their column had been previouſly obliged to retire. Here it was that our infantry committed a fatal miſtake, in beginning to fire at ſo great a diſtance, that it could produce no effect, which the enemy imputing to panic, or the want of judgment, ruſhed rapidly forward to ſome hedges immediately in our front, under cover of which they continued to advance in detached parties, and without preſerving any regular line, and at the ſame time extending their wings with an evident deſign of outflanking us. In this ſituation they did not reſiſt him ſufficiently with their musketry; and in a very ſhort time after, the detachment, which was poſted for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting the guns, retired, leaving behind them the gallant Major Alcock, of the Kilkenny, who was wounded.

"It was ſtill hoped that they would have rallied in rere of the guns, when they perceived the execution made by the caniſter ſhot; but they ran off; and captain Shortall had only time to fire three rounds, when the enemy ruſhed in on his right, and would certainly have put him and all his men to death, but that it is ſuppoſed their ammunition was expended. While captain Shortall was at the britchin of his gun, he was cloſed by a French officer, who having fired a piſtol at him, and miſſed him, was on the point of drawing his ſword, but the captain knocked him down with his fiſt, and then retreated.

In

" In juſtice to the earls of Ormond and Longford, I think it proper to obſerve, that they did their utmoſt to rally their regiments.

" The earl of Granard, major Thomſon, captains Chambers and Armſtrong rallied ſome ſoldiers of the Longford, and ſome ſtragglers of other corps, and covered the retreat of our troops, by maintaining, as they retired, a well-directed fire from behind hedges and walls on the enemy as they advanced. Theſe officers then took poſt on the bridge with their ſmall party and a curricle gun, well ſerved and directed by corporal Gibſon of the Royal Iriſh artillery, and with great gallantry and good judgment defended that paſs for above half an hour againſt the main body of the enemy. At ſame time, lieutenant Blundel, with the other gun in the ſtreet, uſed the utmoſt exertion to oppoſe them.

" The party who defended the bridge, conſiſting of the before-mentioned officers, ſome of the Longford, a few of the Kilkenny and Fraſer's ſuffered moſt ſeverely, as it was expoſed to a croſs fire, both from the roads leading to it, and from the houſes on each ſide. The men often fell back and were rallied by their officers. At length, moſt of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who worked the gun, having been killed or wounded, it became uſeleſs; and the enemy were able to puſh forward a body of cavalry, whoſe charge was however repulſed by this ſmall party, and two of the foremoſt huſſars were killed in our ranks. By this charge, however, our numbers were much reduced; and having loſt the aſſiſtance of one captain and one ſubaltern, who were deſperately wounded, they were obliged to retreat, after having loſt near one half of their party.

Captain

" Captain Chambers fell, covered with wounds; and when down, a Frenchman, enraged at the ſpirited defence which he and his ſmall party had made, drove a bayonet into his mouth, and the ſavage rebel women leaped on his body, and yet he ſtill ſurvives; but ſo impaired in his health, being completely exhauſted and debilitated by the number of wounds which he received, and the great effuſion of blood which enſued, as to be but the ſhadow of what he was; but it is to be hoped, that ſome ſubſtantial rewards will one day await that ſignal valour which he diſplayed in the ſervice of his country, and which renders him an honour to it.

" The French approached the new gaol to break it open; it was guarded by a highland Fraſer centinel, whom his friends had deſired to retreat with them; but he heroically refuſed to quit his poſt, which was elevated, with ſome ſteps leading to it. He charged and fired five times ſucceſſively, and killed a Frenchman at every ſhot; but before he could charge the ſixth time, they ruſhed on him, beat out his brains, and threw him down the ſteps, and the ſentry box on his body.

" A party of French dragoons purſued our retreating army a mile from the town, and took a piece of cannon, which they were on the point of turning on our rere; but a party of Lord Roden's fencibles reſcued the gun, and killed five of them.

" Immediately after receiving an account of this unfortunate buſineſs, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Athlone where he was informed, that General Lake had retired to Tuam, that he had been followed by the French, that his troops had been driven out of the town, and that the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of it. All this, however, proved afterwards to be perfectly unfounded. His Excellency determined to

to halt at Athlone, until he ſhould be joined by the Sutherland and Reay fencibles from Longford, and the Queen's and 29th regiments from Kilkenny; every precaution was taken to ſecure the town of Athlone againſt an attack; and picquets and patroles were far advanced on the roads to Ballinaſloe and Tuam; letters were received from General *Lake*, ſtating the neceſſity of his retreat to Tuam; that he had been joined near Hollymount by the Louth militia. That a flag of truce had arrived at Tuam, with 12 of the officers taken priſoners at Caſtlebar, from whom he learn'd, that numbers of the inhabitants had joined the French, as well as many deſerters from the Longford and Kilkenny regiments. The French remained at Caſtlebar, having a few picquets in front of the town; Ballinrobe, Hollymount, Swineford, &c. were occupied by the rebels. The General added, that from the reduction which had taken place in his corps, and the want of artillery and ammunition, he ſhould be obliged to draw nearer to Athlone. In conſequence of this report, Lord Cornwallis determined to move forward with the corps under his command. Orders were ſent to General *Lake* to halt, with part of the troops under his command, at Ballinamore; and to direct the remainder (the conduct of which, during the retreat, had been very diſorderly) to proceed on their march to Athlone; other neceſſary orders were iſſued to the different commanding officers; and Major-general *Nugent* very prudently directed, that all the boats at Lough-erne, as well as in Lough-neagh and the river Bann, ſhould be ſecured, to prevent the poſſibility of a junction, ſhould the diſaffected in the North attempt a riſing.

"On the 30th of Auguſt, Lord Cornwallis' corps arrived and encamped near Ballinamore. Lieutenant-colonel *Craufurd* was ſent forward with a ſtrong force, to aſcertain the poſition and proceedings of the enemy. Brig.-general

general *Taylor* was directed to wait further orders at Boyle, and Brig.-general *Barnett* reported from Athlone, that the forges, both on the Roscommon and on the Leinster side of that place, were busily employed in making pikes; and that a great number of trees had been cut down for that purpose.

"Lieutenant-col. *Craufurd*, on the 31st, proceeded to Hollymount, and Kilmain, near which place he took a few rebels prisoners; he learnt that a considerable body of them, commanded by a Mr. *Blake*, were in possession of Ballinrobe. Not having any infantry with him, and the horses of the cavalry being fatigued, he judged it adviseable not to push any further on that day, and therefore returned to Hollymount.

"On the 1st of September, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Knock-hill, where his corps encamped. His Excellency here received a further report from Colonel *Craufurd*, who had advanced about five miles from Hollymount, in the direction of Castlebar, without meeting with an enemy. He was informed by persons who had escaped from Castlebar, that the French had been joined by many of the inhabitants of the district, from Ballinrobe to Clare; and from the western and most mountainous parts of the county Mayo. Colonel Craufurd sent a patrole into Ballinrobe, where they found about 80 men in arms, whom they dispersed, killing twelve; the remainder of the rebel force had left that place for Castlebar in the morning.

"On the 2d of September, Lord Cornwallis arrived, and encamped about two miles in front of Tuam, where he was joined by the Queen's and 29th regiments. A writer who has already published a relation of the military operations on this occasion, very justly observes, that to those who shall consider the state of the country, as well as the circumstances

circumſtances which had produced the enemy's firſt ſucceſs at Caſtlebar, the prudential motives muſt evidently appear, which induced Lord Cornwallis not to place himſelf in a ſituation to give or receive a deciſive action, until his corps ſhould be compoſed of troops in which he could firmly confide. Should a ſecond check of the army have taken place, it's effect would not have been confined to the increaſe of men and means that would have reſulted to the ſmall corps of French troops, whoſe exiſtence reſted ſolely on the degree of ſupport they received; it would have extended to the diſaffected in every part of the kingdom, who, there was good reaſon to believe, had only continued quiet as yet, becauſe they were unwilling to truſt to the firſt ſucceſs of ſo ſmall a foreign ſupport. Lord Cornwallis had alſo received poſitive information, that an expedition from *Breſt* was deſtined for the North of Ireland, and that it was only waiting a favourable opportunity to elude the vigilance of our fleets. The French general, (*Humbert*), therefore remaining at Caſtlebar, might well be attributed to the expectation of receiving reinforcements himſelf, and of a co-operation from the corps which was to ſail from Breſt; and as long as he continued ſtationary, there were not any grounds attaching to his corps ſolely, which could juſtify any meaſure on the part of Lord Cornwallis, not adopted with a moral certainty of ſucceſs, or which was attended with the moſt diſtant probability of a trifling check, or partial riſque.

"On the 4th of September, his Excellency moved forward with the whole of his corps, and encamped in the rere of Hollymount. Here he received information, that the enemy was entrenching behind Caſtlebar, on the ground where the attack was made on General *Lake's* corps, and that the rebels were poſted in Caſtlebar, and the villages in its front. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, determined to march from Hollymount at day-break, with the whole of his

his corps, intending to attack the enemy. In the evening, however, of the 4th, he received intelligence, that the enemy had marched early in the morning from Caſtlebar, in the direction of Foxford; and that General *Craufurd* had puſhed into Caſtlebar, upon hearing the enemy had left that place, where he found ſeveral wounded officers and men, about 50 barrels of powder, an ammunition waggon, and ſome arms. The information he received was contradictory; ſome reports ſtating, that the enemy was marching to Sligo, others, that an attack was intended on General *Lake's* corps. As it was impoſſible to form a correct judgment of General Humbert's object, Lord Cornwallis directed Gen. *Lake* to follow him, and to harraſs and impede his march, but not to riſk an action, unleſs with almoſt a certainty of ſucceſs.

"On the 5th of September, Lord Cornwallis marched at day-break from Hollymount, through Clare, to *Ballyhannis*, and the yeomanry corps of Mayo, were ordered to return to their former ſtations in that country. During the march to Ballyhaunis, and very near that place, his Excellency diſcovered, that the enemy was marching with the utmoſt expedition towards Sligo, and had paſſed Tubbercurry, where there was a ſlight engagement with the yeomanry of the place. Reports were alſo received, that ſerious diſturbances were taking place in the counties of Weſtmeath and Longford; that the people were riſing in the neighbourhood of Ballymore, Granard, Rathdown, the Iſlands of Rathaſpick, Mullingar, Killbeggan, &c. and had proceeded to acts of rebellion. Near Granard, however, a party of the rebels were defeated with great ſlaughter by the yeomanry corps, under the command of Lord Longford and Captain Cottingham.

"On the 6th of *September*, the corps under Lord Cornwallis' command, proceeded to French-park, where he received

received accounts from Major-gen. *Nugent*, and Lieutenant-gen. *Lake* of an unſucceſsful attack which had, on the preceding day, been made by Col. *Vereker*, with a part of the garriſon of Sligo, upon the enemy, who had proceeded in the direction of Sligo, and had halted at Coloony. The engagement took place about a quarter of a mile northward of *Coloony*, and was warmly maintained for the ſpace of an hour, when the French, by their ſuperiority of numbers, were enabled to out-flank, and to force Col. *Vereker's* right, and obliged him to retreat to Sligo. On this occaſion, Capt. *Cripps* of the city of Limerick regiment was killed, Col. *Vereker* and ſome other officers were wounded. The colonel was alſo obliged to evacuate Sligo, and retire to Ballyſhannon, on finding that the enemy had, on the night of the 5th, march'd round to Drumahare and Ballintogher, apparently on their route to Sligo. Lieut.-gen. Lake proceeded to Ballintogher, having ſent forward Lieut.-col. Craufurd, with a ſtrong patrole towards Drumahare. On the march from Coloony, he found three 6-pounders and one tumbril, which the enemy had diſmounted and thrown into a ditch by the road-ſide: and Lieut.-col. Craufurd reported, that the enemy had marched at 11 o'clock, A. M. on the 6th, from Drumahare to Manorhamilton, having previouſly thrown 5 guns and 1 tumbril over the bridge, at the former place.

"Lieut.-general *Lake* proceeded to Drumahare, and received a further report, that the enemy had ſuddenly turned to the right, at Drumkerrin. Lord Cornwallis, judging from the enemy's movements, that it was their intention to proceed to Boyle, or Carrick-on-Shannon, haſtened the march of his troops from French-park to the latter place, which they reached on the 7th, after a moſt rapid progreſs.

On

" On his Excellency's arrival at Carrick, he found the enemy had paſſed the Shannon, at Balintra, where they attempted to deſtroy the bridge : but General *Lake* followed them ſo cloſely, they were not able to effect it. The enemy halted for the night of the 7th at Cloone, on which his Excellency moved from Carrick at 10 o'clock of the ſame night, and directed General *Lake* to proceed at the ſame time to Cloone, which is about 3 miles from Mohill, by which movement his Excellency was enabled either to join with General Lake in the attack of the enemy, if they ſhould remain at Cloone, or to intercept their retreat, if they ſhould retire on the approach of the army.

" On Lord Cornwallis's arrival at Mohill, ſoon after day-break, he found the enemy had began to move towards Granard ; he therefore proceeded with all expedition to Johnſtown ; thro' which, on account of a broken bridge, the enemy were obliged to paſs in their way to Granard : and directed General *Lake* to attack the enemy's rere, and impede their march as much as poſſible, without bringing the whole of the corps into action. This ſervice General *Lake* performed with his uſual ability.

" On the 8th of September about 7 o'clock in the morning, Lieutenant general *Lake* arrived at Cloone, with his column, conſiſting of the carabiniers, detachments of the 23d light dragoons, the firſt fencible light dragoons, the Roxburgh fencible dragoons, under the command of Sir Thomas Chapman, Lieut.-col. Maxwell, Earl of Roden, and Capt. Kerr ; the third batallion of light infantry ; the Armagh, and part of the Kerry militia : the Reay, Northampton and Pr. of Wales' fencible regiments of infantry, under the command of Lieut.-col. Innes of the 64th regiment, Lord Vif. Gosford, Earl of Glandore, Major Roſs, Lieut.-col. Bulkeley, and Lieut.-col. Macartney. Lieut.-col. Craufurd alſo commanded the advance corps, compoſed of detachments

detachments of Hompesch's and the first fencible cavalry.

" Lieutenant-col. Craufurd on coming up with the French van-guard, near Ballinamuck, summoned them to surrender; but as they did not attend to it, he attacked them; upon which 200 French infantry threw down their arms, under the idea that the rest of the corps would act in like manner. Capt. Packenham, Lieutenant-gen. of ordnance, and Major-gen. Cradock rode up to them; the enemy, however, instantly commenced a fire of musketry, by which general Craddock received a wound in the arm. General *Lake* then ordered up the third battalion of light infantry, commanded by Col Innes, and commenced the attack upon the enemy's position. The action lasted above half an hour, when the remainder of the column making it's appearance, the French surrendered at discretion. The rebels, who fled in all directions, suffered severely. By the official accounts it appears, that the loss on the part of the king's forces, was 1 officer wounded, 3 privates killed, 12 wounded, 3 missing, 11 horses killed, 1 wounded, and 8 missing Besides the arms and ammunition taken from the enemy, there were taken prisoners 96 general and other officers of the French army, 746 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, with about 100 horses. The enemy were obliged to abandon 9 pieces of cannon, which they had taken in former actions with his majesty's forces. Ninety-six rebels were also made prisoners; amongst whom were three of their principal leaders or general officers, viz. *Roach*, *Blake*, and *Teeling*.

" The battle of Ballinamuck, proved decisive; the rebels now found, that even with the long-wish'd-for assistance of a foreign enemy, they could not effectuate their designs; they were therefore obliged to abandon a project, which

which proved chimerical and unfortunate; and nothing remained for them, but to await that punishment which they had merited from the laws of their injured country"

Though we have observed the strictest impartiality in the course of this work, which should at all times, constitute a principal feature in the character of every historian; we think it however our duty, to conclude with a few observations on the excellence of the British constitution, and folly of expecting freedom from the French.

Before men run rashly to ruin, let them more attentively consider that constitution, whose genuine freedom dispenses her bounties alike to the wealthy and the humble; where the true God is worshipped, and her faithful servants protected from the evil doer. They would do well to consider themultiplicity of outrages perperrated with impunity under that system they labour to introduce; and on the other hand, view without prejudice the laws of their own country, restraining every species of capricious tyranny, that would bend her people to the yoke of arbitrary sway.

Under the benevolent influence of this constitution, industry may rest secure, from the hand of rapacity, and the exactions of an unfeeling despot, should any arise: the lives of men are protected from the caprice of uncontrouled power; the chicane and duplicity of designing men, to varnish over the baseness of perverted justice, finds no encouragement here: genuine equality is just to all, partial to none, the friend of distress, and a terror to the evil doer.

Has the veteran exhausted his strength in the service of his country, he is rewarded with the comforts and necessaries of life in his old age: has the merchant, trader, or farmer,

farmer, acquired wealth by honeſt induſtry, he is protected in its enjoyment. Every religious ſect is permitted to worſhip God as conſcience dictates; and no ſubject of another power is expoſed to the loſs of life, or property, by falling under the Britiſh government. No cunning or diſſimulation are here reſorted to, for the ſeduction of the ſubjects of other ſtates; priſoners taken in war, are treated with humanity, and the faith of treaties obſerved.

Would the advocates for a republican form of government once conſider, through what oceans of blood they muſt wade for its attainment, what deſolation they muſt bring on their country, and the anarchy which for years is ever the conſequence of civil war, the reſult of calm deliberation would be found ſuperior to the ſuggeſtions of thoughtleſs ambition, hitherto ſo unſucceſsful.

French freedom, the ultimatum of every deſcription of inſurgents, appeared great and ſublime, when viewed through the medium of French Oratory; but upon a nearer view, all its ſuppoſed excellence vaniſhed in a moment, leaving nothing but the very dregs of oppreſſion and wrong. This obſervation is confirmed by the experience of many nations, but more particularly felt by this, during the ſhort ſtay of the French, among their deluded adherents.

Wild and chimerical indeed are his ideas of freedom, who having witneſſed the inſolence of thoſe foreigners, during their ſtay, can yet deſire a repetition of ſuch *fraternity!* Would the fervor of republican enthuſiaſm once permit them to view matters in a proper light, by reverting to thoſe ſcenes of French *emancipation* exhibited in many parts of Europe, probably the mildneſs of this conſtitution would ſoon be preferred to the licentiouſneſs of the French.

Every

Every man of true diſcernment is certainly aware of this; but the mob, for ever ſlaves to prejudice, cannot be brought to know the happineſs of genuine freedom, till they have ſwallowed down the bitter draught of ſlavery—till foreign tyranny and oppreſſion have brought them to a due ſenſe of their own raſhneſs, and folly.

Before men caſt themſelves away on ſuch dangerous rocks and ſhelves, let them ſeriouſly view the *known*, and *probable* effects of ſuch revolution. The only true revolution is *univerſal benevolence*, and the extinction of party animoſity, which ſhould be regarded by every perſon having the ſmalleſt pretence to patrotiſm. Theſe objects once attained, the reſtoration of national happineſs will ſoon follow. The coercive meaſures, neceſſarily adopted for the reſtraint and puniſhment of evil doers, will be taken away, and we ſhall ſoon experience the happineſs of a revolution in the ſtate of the nation, infinitely ſuperior to that which gives a looſe to the paſſions and prejudices of men.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Maſſacree at Scullabogue.—Proceedings at Gorey.—Cree.—Kildare.—Sufferings of Mrs. Tyrrell.—Extract from Mr. Jackſon's narrative.—Like from Mr. Taylor's.—Account of Lord Kingsborough.—Outrage at Wilſons Hoſpital.—Obſervations on the Rebellion from Mr. Belſham's hiſtory.

HAVING given a general account of public proceedings during the late rebellion, we ſhall proceed to ſtate ſome particular inſtances of that cruel and barbarous diſpoſition that actuated the inſurgents in different parts of the kingdom, having collected them from the beſt and moſt authentic information;—We mean not however by the inſtances we ſhall relate, to influence the mind of the reader by impreſſing him with an idea, that all the atrocities committed, were attributable to one ſide only. The balance of the account, we ſhall endeavour to ſum up impartially hereafter: but continuing the proceedings of the rebels we ſhall begin with the horrid maſſacre at Scullabogue.

This place is ſituated between Roſs and Wexford. The rebels having, after the battle at Roſs, taken a number of proteſtant priſoners, they confined them in a barn at this place, which they afterwards ſet on fire; the priſoners naturally made different efforts to eſcape; but the rebels

who ſurrounded the barn prevented them, by forcing the unhappy captives into the fire with their pikes, and puſhing them back into the flames, till they were all conſumed.

At *Gorey* the rebels were not ſatisfied with burning and plundering this place during the abſence of the army, but they deſtroyed the church, dragged down the pulpit, burned ſome of the ſeats and pews, and actually ſtained it with the blood of 2 proteſtants whom they inhumanly put to death in it.

Having entered the houſe of Captain *Hardy* in Hacketstown, the inſurgents proceeded to the moſt horrid outrages; Mr. *Hardy's* family fortunately eſcaped; but having himſelf fallen a prey to theſe ſavages, they broke both his thighs, and then ſet fire to the houſe, where he was burned to death.

At Cree (which is in the county of Wexford) the rebels atacked the houſe of Mr. *Robert Webſter*, who was an induſtrious farmer; and having forced him out of it, they interrogated him as to his religion: Mr. *Webſter* acknowledg'd himſelf a proteſtant; upon which they piked him in the head and different parts of the body, putting him thus to death in the moſt cruel manner.

In Kildare the rebels deſtroyed the houſe and property of a Mr. *Crafford*; whom (after they had abus'd him for being a proteſtant,) they put to death, by thruſting a pike up his body, which penetrated almoſt to his throat, and wounded him in many other parts; they afterwards roaſted him before a large fire, where he expired in the moſt ſhocking agony. One of his young children was alſo put to death in the ſame manner; and the mother, with another child, who were ſeverely wounded, eſcaped death by the providential

providential arrival of a party of loyaliſts, who ruſhed into the houſe, and reſcued them from the hands of the barbarians.

Sufferings of Mrs. Tyrrel.

This lady, on the morning of the 11th of July, 1798, went in her carriage from Clonard towards her own houſe at Kilreiny; but hearing the rebels were approaching, ſhe ſpeedily drove back, intending to reach Clonard before them; finding this attempt not practicable, ſhe directed her ſervant to proceed to Kilreiny; but they had not advanced many yards; when the carriage was overtaken by two horſemen armed with ſwords, who, with the moſt horrid oaths and menaces, obliged the ſervant to ſtop; they then turned the carriage back towards Clonard, until they overtook about 200 men armed with pikes, &c. where they ſearch'd for arms but none were diſcovered. Three men, armed with muſkets, aſcended the boot of the carriage, and three others placed themſelves behind it; in this manner, Mrs. *Tyrrel*, attended by a great crowd, was brought two miles round to the high road leading from Dublin to Clonard; here ſhe was kept as a priſoner, notwithſtanding her frequent entreaties to be enlarged, and remained in cuſtody, until the defeat of the rebels at Clonard, of which an account has been given in the preceding part of this work. Upon that event, the principal part of the inſurgents that had retreated, aſſembled at the cabin where ſhe was detained; one of the rebel officers then deſired her to get into the carriage, alledging, that ſhe muſt go with him; ſhe requeſted liberty to remain where ſhe was, offering the uſe of the carriage and horſes to him; but ſhe was ſoon after ſeized by another perſon, who propoſed ſetting her on horſe-back, declaring the carriage ſhould be applied to the uſe of ſome wounded men; ſhe was now in a ſtate of deſpair, apprehending her life im-

mediately in danger. At length, ſhe was forced into the carriage by three or four men, and carried about a mile, when it was again ſtopped and entered by one *Perry*, who informed her, that the yeomen had taken a general officer of the rebels at Clonard, and that ſhe muſt remain as a hoſtage, till his fate was known. After proceeding a little farther, the carriage was again ſtopped by a perſon who diſplaced *Perry*, and took place in it himſelf. In a ſhort time after, ſhe perceived a perſon riding by it, whom ſhe knew to be a prieſt of the name of *Kearns*, and who had been frequently entertained at her houſe; ſhe applied to him for protection, but all was fruitleſs. Her mind was now turned, as if in her laſt moments, to devotion; and her conduct excited the humanity of a man who ſat on the box of the carriage, and declared ſhe ſhould be ſafe, and at liberty to act as ſhe pleaſed. To him ſhe gave, as a reward for his ſeeming humanity, her gold watch. She continued not much longer in this melancholy ſituation, until ſhe was relieved by a gentleman in the garb of an officer, who interrogated her as to her perſon, and the occaſion of her ſituation; being informed in every particular, he cauſed the cavalcade that attended her to ſtop, handed her out of her carriage, and conducted her through the crowd of inſurgents, leaving her at liberty to proceed home, and then returned to his party. Thus critically was Mrs. *Tyrrel!* relieved from her ſituation, and a life ſaved, which probably would otherwiſe have fallen a victim to inſatiable barbarity.

The following circumſtance which happened at Enniſcorthy, is too remarkable to eſcape notice. An induſtrious tradeſman (a glazier) was ſeized by the rebels, and required to renounce his religion as a proteſtant, to confeſs to a prieſt, and receive his baptiſm; all which he refuſed to comply with; in conſequence of this, he was piked in ſeveral parts of the body, till he became apparently dead; and

and was then thrown into a field, and covered with ſome ſods of earth. Some of his friends, who had previouſly ſubmitted to that ceremony, begged his body for interment, which was granted. Upon raiſing him out of the ground, ſome ſigns of life appeared; he was privately conveyed home; and after neceſſary aſſiſtance had been adminiſtered, he fortunately recovered, and is now a living witneſs of the horrid cruelty before mentioned.

Mr. *Boyd*, a gentleman of amiable character, and a magiſtrate of the county of Wexford, was put to death in the following manner; the rebels thruſt an iron pin through his noſe, tied his hands behind his back, and left him faſtened to a dunghill till he expired.

A proteſtant clergyman of reſpectability, was alſo ſtripped naked by the rebels, who put him into a pig-trough, and bled him to death; after which, they danced and waſhed their feet in his blood.

But, as the town and county of Wexford afforded more extraordinary incidents of cruelty than perhaps any other part of the kingdom, we cannot better ſatisfy the reader's curioſity, than by ſtating the following circumſtances extracted from the narrative of Mr. Charles Jackſon who was an inhabitant of Wexford.——This gentleman ſtates, that on Saturday night, May the 26th, 1798, information was firſt received of the rebels being in force, about 12 miles from Wexford. The troops at that time in the town, were under arms the whole of the night; and on Sunday morning, the alarm increaſed, on hearing the rebels were burning the houſes of all the proteſtant farmers in the neighbourhood. The terror of the inhabitants that night can better be imagined than deſcribed. To add to it, all the families in the neighbourhood, who were able, were ſeen flying into the town, leaving their property behind

hind them. They saw the smoke of the town of Enniscorthy, which was then in flames. The loyalists made a most gallant defence, and would have repulsed the rebels, had not the Romanists treacherously set fire to the town, to smother the troops who were defending it. Thus circumstanced, the troops were obliged to secure their safety by flight, after having cut off about 500 of the rebels.

At about four o'clock this afternoon, no description can give an adequate idea of the scene presented at Wexford. The inhabitants who had escaped from Enniscorthy and its neighbourhood, pushed into the town in crowds; persons of the first fortunes in this part of the country, covered with dust and blood, with their infants in their arms, and their wives clinging behind them; and such women as had not been able to procure a horse or seat with their husbands, endeavoured to keep up with the mob of fugitives, with their children in their arms, and others hanging on them: women who, but a few hours before, were in possession of every comfort life could afford. The inhabitants of Wexford, still more terrified by the spectacle before them, were each endeavouring to secure a birth for their wives and children, on board some of the vessels lying in the harbour, every one of which was soon filled as full as it could hold. The next morning, Tuesday, May 19th, a party of the Donegal militia arrived, with two pieces of cannon, and brought news that more assistance was advancing. Orders were now given that all the fires should be put out, and that such houses as had thatched roofs should be immediately stripped, to prevent the rebels from following the example of those at Enniscorthy, by setting fire to the town during the time of its being attacked. A council being now called, it was resolved, that it was impossible to defend the town, as the greatest part of the Romanists, who had taken up arms, had deserted.

Two

Two gentlemen, Mr. Richards, a lawyer, and Doctor Jacobs, mayor of the town, were appointed to offer to surrender the town to the rebels, and to endeavour to save the lives of the inhabitants; to which conditions the rebels agreed. In the mean time, the troops, accompanied by all the unmarried yeomen, effected their escape to Duncannon-fort, about 23 miles off.

On May the 23d, Mrs. Jackson was brought to bed; and on the Monday following, the day of the battle of Enniscorthy, her husband thought himself fortunate in being able to remove her with her infant, and place them on board one of the vessels, in which they had no doubt of being safely carried to Wales. In this vessel they continued on the open deck, with only a sail to cover them, 'till Wednesday morning, May the 30th, when about two o'clock, they saw the toll-house and part of the bridge of Wexford on fire. The town was immediately in an uproar; and while the cavalry were endeavouring to cut away a part of the bridge, to prevent the flames from communicating to the town, the quays, and every avenue leading to the water-side, were crowded with women and children, begging in the most pitiful manner, to be admitted on board the vessels; hut that was impossible; they were already filled in every part. On seeing the flames, the vessels all weighed and stood towards the mouth of the harbour, where they cast anchor.——"About one o'clock, (says "Mr. Jackson), a white flag was seen flying in Wexford, "(a signal that the rebels were in possession of the town), "and the captain of our vessel instantly answered it by a-"nother. His example was followed by the rest, except "two, who sailed for Wales. We now concluded the *die* "*was cast*, and that we were to be given up to our enemies "Every entreaty I could urge was strenuously enforced, "to induce the captain to carry us to Wales, but without "effect. With a mind almost distracted, I went into the

"hold

" hold, where my wife and her infant now lodged, to take " what I ſuppoſed would be a laſt farewell; but the horror " expreſſed in her emaciated countenance, deterred me " from communicating all my apprehenſions. At length " we arrived at the quay, and with my charge, I was land- " ed on the beach. While I was in this ſtate, one of the " captains, (of the name of Furlong,) came up to me, and " aſked me if I belonged to the town, and whether I had " any arms?—I told him, that, at the houſe where I had " lived, I had a muſket. He bid me follow him and give " it up We paſſed thro' crowds of the rebels, who were " i the moſt diſorderly ſtate, without the leaſt appearance " of diſcipline. They had no kind of uniform. but were " moſt of them in the dreſs of labourers, with white bands " round their hats, and green cockades, being the only " marks by which they were diſtinguiſhed. It was im- " poſſible for a mob to be more wild and frantic; many " of them ſeemed to be in a ſtate of intoxication. The " houſes firſt attacked were, the Cuſtom-houſe, and thoſe " of Mr. Lee, the collector, Capt. Boyd's, and the Rev. Mr. " Millar's. In a ſhort time nothing remained of them but " bare walls.

" Following cloſe the horſe of my conductor, I paſſed " ſafe with my wife and child through this terrible ſcene " to my houſe. I gave him my musket, and he rode off. " My wife lay down on a bed, and I crept under it, think- " ing to hide myſelf, in caſe I ſhould be ſought after. I " had not been in this ſituation more than ten minutes, " when I heard my name called, and a ſound of feet on the " ſtairs. Preſently the door opened, and one Patrick " Murphy, with ſix others, all armed, came into the " room. This Murphy was a near neighbour of mine, and " had always profeſſed a great regard for me. My wife, on " ſeeing him, threw herſelf off the bed with the child in " her arms, and fell on her knees, entreating them to

" ſpare

" ſpare me. One of them ſwore if ſhe did not ſay where " I was, he would blow her brains out. On hearing this, " from fear of her being injured, I ſhewed myſelf, and was " immediately ſeized and dragg'd down ſtairs. I was con- " ducted to the barracks, and put into a room with eight " others, all expecting ſoon to be put to death. After re- " maining in this ſituation about an hour, one of the rebels, " armed with an old bayonet on the end of a pole made a " thruſt at my throat, but it was prevented from entering " by a thick cuſhion under my cravat.. He then wounded " me ſlightly below my hip. At that moment, Counſellor " Richards, (who had been obliged to join the rebels to " ſave his own life) came into the room with Mr. B. Har- " vey, and ſeeing the ſtate I was in, requeſted him to ſave " me, which he did by taking me out with him to a Mr. " Hughes, at the Foley. I went up a back ſtair-caſe, and " got into a ſmall room at the top of the houſe. Soon my " purſuers came into the room; but I was concealed in a " cubboard, and for that time eſcaped their fury. Thus " diſappointed, I heard them propoſe to ſet fire to the " houſe, but that was over-ruled. In that ſituation I con- " tinued till ten o'clock at night; I then ventured out, and " got over the rocks to a place called Mandlin-town, near " a mile from Wexford, to the houſe of an old woman of " the name of Cole, whom I thought I could truſt; and " begg'd in the moſt earneſt manner, that ſhe would permit " me to remain concealed there, till affairs were a little " ſettled She told me ſhe would as long as ſhe could with- " out danger to herſelf, and that ſhe would go into the " town and ſee how matters went; which ſhe accordingly " did, and returned, ſaying that the inſurgents were ſearch- " ing all the houſes for Proteſtants, and committing them " to gaol; and if I ſhould be found there, they would kill " her, and burn the houſe. I got out at her back door, " and went about two miles acroſs the country, but ſoon " heard voices behind me, calling on me to ſtop, and I " ſhould

" ſhould have mercy. I turned round, and ſaw ſix men " advancing with pikes in their hands. They ſeized me, " and conducted me back to Wexford, and put me into " gaol, in which I found about two hundred and twenty " Proteſtants.

" Towards the evening, a fellow, of the name of Dick " Monk, who had formerly been a ſhoeblack in the town, " but now was raiſed by the rebels to the rank of a captain, " came into the gaol, and bid us prepare our ſouls for " death, for that all of us, except ſuch as upon examination " he ſhould releaſe, would be put to death at twelve o'clock " that night. The manner of his examining was two-fold: " firſt politically and then religiouſly;—The form of his " political examination was this:——Q. Are you ſtraight? " A. I am.——Q. How ſtraight? A. As ſtraight as a ruſh. " Q. Go on then. A. In truth, in unity, and in liberty. " ——Q. What have you got in your hand? A. A green " bough.——Q. Where did it firſt grow? A. In America, " ——Q. Where did it bud? A. In France.——Q. Where " are you going to plant it? A. In the crown of Great-" Britain." The preceding queſtions and anſwers, appear to have been a part of the *United-Iriſhmen's Catechiſm*, by which they knew each other.

" Monk, after having gone through this examination, " ſelected ſix to be ſaved, and took them with him out " of the priſon; the ſituation of us that remained, can bet-" ter be imagined than deſcribed. No one, however, came " near us that night; next morning, we were brought " ſome potatoes and water which proved a ſeaſonable re-" lief.

" On June the 4th, the gaoler came in and took us into " the yard; as ſoon as I came out, he ſaid, Mr. Jackſon, " I believe you know what we want of you." I anſwered, " yes, I ſuppoſed I was going to die." I then fell upon " my

" my knees, begging, that if that was the caſe, I might be " allowed to ſee my wife and child, he ſwore that I ſhould " not; that I was not then going to die, but that a man " was to die at ſix o'clock that evening, and that he did not " know any more proper to execute him than me and two " others. We were then carried back to our cells, and " ſpent the day in prayer till ſix o'clock; at which time be- " ing brought to the great door, we found the priſoner " Murphy, with nearly 1000 men about him. The dead " march was ſtruck up, and beat from the gaol to the place " of execution, which was a mile and a half off, on the " other ſide of the bridge, on a wide ſtrand. An order " was then given to form a half circle, with an opening " to the water. The poor man was directed to kneel down, " with his back to the water, and his face toward us, " which he did, with his hands claſped. The muſquets " were then called for. The firſt appointed to fire was " one Matthews; and it was remarkable the piece miſſed " three times. A common ſporting gun was then brought, " and fired by Matthews, and the ball hit the poor man " in the arm. I was next called upon; and two men ad- " vanced, one on each ſide of me, and held cocked piſtols " to my head; two alſo ſtood behind me with cavalry " ſwords, threatening me with inſtant death, if I miſſed the " mark. I fired, and the poor man fell dead. When it " was over, a propoſal was made that I ſhould waſh " my hands in his blood; but this was over-ruled; and " they ſaid, as I had done my buſineſs well, I ſhould go " back.

" On June the 20th, we heard a horrid noiſe at the " gaol, and a demand of the priſoners. 18 or 20 were " immediately taken out; and, in about half an hour, the " rebels returned for more victims. In the whole, they " took out ninety-eight. Thoſe who were laſt called out, " were 17 in number. Mr. Daniel and Mr. Robinſon,

" both

" both gaugers ; Mr. Atkins, a tide-waiter ; Matthews and " Gurly, who were with me at the execution of Murphy, " and myſelf, were included in this lot. We were march- " ed to the bridge. The blood of thoſe who had been " already executed on this ſpot, (eighty-one in number) " had more than ſtained, it ſtreamed upon the ground a- " bout us. They firſt began the bloody tragedy by taking " out Mr. Daniel, who, the moment he was touched with " their pikes, ſprung over the battlements of the bridge " into the water, where he was ſhot. Mr. Robinſon was " the next, he was piked to death. They ripped open the " belly of poor Mr. Atkins ; and in that condition, he ran " ſeveral yards ; when falling on the ſide of the bridge, he " was piked. Thus they proceeded, till they came to Gurly, " who was next to me. While they were torturing him, " General Roach rode up in great haſte, and bid them beat " to arms, informing them Vinegar-Hill was beſet, and " that reinforcements were wanting. This operated like " lightning upon them; they all inſtantly quitted the " bridge, and left Mr. O'Connor, an organiſt; Mr. Ha- " milton, the bailiff of the town ; and myſelf, on our " knees. The rebel guard ſoon came to us, and took us " back to the gaol ; which we entered with hearts over- " flowing with gratitude to the great Creator, for our late " wonderful preſervation. For the arrival of the troops " we looked, with ſome hope and extreme anxiety, the " whole night, till about five o'clock in the morning, when " we heard the joyful ſound of cannon." Soon after the " king's troops entered the town, and put an end to this " ſcene of barbarity.

A narrative concerning the ſufferings of a Mr. Taylor

States briefly as follows. On going home through the country, he became a priſoner to the rebels, the 6th of June 1798, and was taken to Gorey, where he was confined in

in the market-houſe with other priſoners. The firſt night, (ſays the narrative,) "the guards that were placed over us, "tied our arms behind, and confined us to certain limits, "that we ſhould not have an opportunity of converſing to-"gether. The next evening, the rebels brought in a-"nother priſoner, whom they afterwards ſhot in the "ſtreets.

"My papiſt neighbours hearing I was in confinement, "ſome of them came to ſee me, mocked me, wiſhed me "a ſpeedy liberation; and hoped I would not loſe any "time to accept of the means to procure it, which was "to be chriſtened by a prieſt, and embrace the holy Roman "Catholic Faith (as they called it) and if I would not con-"ſent to theſe propoſals, I ſhould be ſhot.

"In a few days after, they ſtript me of all my cloaths, "and gave me an old ſuit belonging to a ſoldier who had "unfortunately fell into their hands; and one of their "captains took half a guinea from me, which was all the "money I had, except one ſhilling and ſeven pence half-"penny; thus having plunder'd me, they left me to me-"ditate on what ſhould follow; nor was it I alone that "was robbed, but all the priſoners. They then led us out "into the camp to be ſhot. Here we were commanded to "ſit down two and two; there were guards placed before "and behind us; they that were behind wanted to kill us "with their pikes, but thoſe before us would not conſent "to our being killed until the arrival of the prieſt in form. "The guards behind, however, wounded many of us not-"withſtanding; and one in particular had been cruelly "mangled in his back with their pikes. A rebel horſe-"man rode up to us, and after viewing us for a while, "fired a piſtol among us, and wounded one of us in the "ſhoulder.

"The

" The prieſt at length arrived, and we expected a cruel " and immediate death; but to the great diſappointment " of our blood-thirſty guards, who were continually prod- " ding us with their pikes, the prieſt had directions from " Bag. Harvey, to read a proclamation he held in his hand, " which he did, and inſtead of our being put to torturing " deaths, we were eſcorted back again, and walked two " and two as before, linked to each other. The next morn- " ing, their ſavage barbarity ſoon returned, for they cut " off all the priſoners' hair, and put pitch'd caps on them " all, except myſelf; they did not even exclude a miniſter, " who was our fellow priſoner, from torture and the ſame " puniſhment. This happened on Sunday the 9th of June, " when the whole body of the rebels prepared to attack " Arklow.

" As the rebel army marched through the town of " Gorey, the guards thruſt the priſoners half-out of the " windows, that the rebel army might ſee the priſoners' " heads ſhorn and covered with pitched caps; at which the " rebels ſhouted with great joy and contempt, and mocked " the priſoners as they paſſed them.

" Our bed here was only bruſh of ſtraw, and that very " trifling, which was ſwarming with vermin; our food was " very ſcanty, and no man got as much in twenty-four hours " as was ſufficient for one meal; but I was much better " treated than any of the reſt of the priſoners.

" On Wedneſday the 30th, the rebel officers came into " the guard-room to try the priſoners, and any that were " ſuppoſed to be Orange-men, were confined cloſely in gaol, " till they ſhould be ſent to Wexford to be ſhot or piked " to death. When my trial came on, I was in a few words " acquitted, and placed among them that were to go to the " camp to join and fight with the rebels againſt his Majeſ-

ty's

" ty's forces ; but this my conſcience revolted from, and I " choſe rather to take my fate with thoſe who were doom'd " for the Wexford ſlaughter, rather than take up arms a- " gainſt my king and country. We were now pinioned " and hand-cuffed together, and then marched in that ſlav- " iſh, painful manner in proceſſion 13 miles to Oulart ; " when we arrived at the inn it was near eleven o'clock at " night ; we were then drove into an out-houſe, where a " little ſtraw had been ſhaken on the floor for us to lie on, " our hands continued handcuffed behind us, but the mer- " cy and goodneſs of the Great God ſupported us under " this and every other painful affliction.

" In the morning, we marched about four miles farther, " and then halted at the houſe of Edward Fitzgerald, to " get ſomething to eat ; we then went to Wexford, where " we arrived about eleven o'clock ; we continued hand- " cuffed with heavy irons, being confined in the gaol.

" This is a very ſtrong priſon, and I believe never con- " tained ſo great a number of innocent inhabitants before ; " no man was confined here but proteſtants, and this alone " was their crime. There were ſo great a number of priſon- " ers here, and more crowding in every day, that the rebel " committee thought it expedient to ſend ſome of them to " the market-houſe, as the weather was ſo extremely warm, " they were afraid it might become infectious. The rebel " captains or commanders ſaid it would be dangerous to kill " us, until they would find whether they would be ſucceſsful " againſt the army or not. Many of the priſoners were " appointed for the market-houſe, but were imploring the " committee to leave them in the gaol, as the lower order " of the rebels were ſo blood-thirſty, that they would hardly " be prevented by their leaders from burſting into the pri- " ſon, and murdering all the deſpairing poor proteſtant crea- " tures in it.

" On

"On Wednesday evening, the 20th of June, they dragg-
"ed out 14 of my innocent suffering protestant fellow pri-
"soners, and after they had gone away with them, we
"enquired of our guards what they intended to do with
"them; some of the guards replied, they were going to
"be tried; others said they were to be taken to the camp
"to be shot, because they would not turn to mass. In
"some time after, a large rebel force came again to the pri-
"son, and took away ten more innocent trembling victims;
"after they were gone some time, a woman came crying
"bitterly, and told me the rebels had murdered all the
"prisoners on the bridge, and then had thrown them over
"into the ferry. The blood-thirsty rebels returned to the
"prison again, and said they came for more heretics.
"Another party, more devilish, (called the executioners,)
"soon after came in, and dragged out 18 more innocent
"men; I was one of the number. When we arrived at
"the bridge, we kneeled down to offer up our prayers, and
"to commend our souls to God; while in the fervency of
"our supplications, on our knees, they piked six of our
"fellow-sufferers in the most horrid and tormenting manner
"they could think of, and then threw them over the bridge
"into the water. One man in torture with his bowels
"hanging out, running round on the bridge, jumped into
"the water, and the cruel rebels diverted themselves fir-
"ing shots at him as he struggled in the agonies of death.
"When they had done murdering these innocent protes-
"tants also, there only remained two trembling victims
"more, and myself, to finish these bloody sacrifices; but
"Mr. Curran, a priest of Wexford, interfered, and saved
"our lives, by desiring the rebels to desist."

"It evidently appears;" (continues the narrative) that
"this pious Father Curran never interfered to save the lives
"of all, or any of the innocent protestants, who were daily
"butchered by the merciless rebels, previous to *this* day's sa-
"crifice of them.

We ſhall add a few words reſpecting Lord Kingsborough, who on hearing of the diſturbance, had left Dublin, with a view of joining his regiment, the North Cork militia. Not knowing the town of Wexford was taken, he was proceeding towards it, with two of his officers, in a ſmall ſloop; but at a ſhort diſtance from the harbour, the veſſel was attacked by ſeveral armed boats belonging to the rebels. His Lordſhip, with his uſual courage, endeavoured to defend himſelf, but was overpowered by numbers; and with his two officers, Cap. Burke and Cap. F. Hay, the ſecond day after the town was taken, was brought into Wexford; they were confined at a public-houſe, where a ſtrong guard was placed over them.

A few days after, the gaol was ſo crowded, that no room was left for the proteſtant priſoners, who were daily brought in from different parts of the county. The rebels then fitted up two large ſloops, as priſon-ſhips, with a quantity of ſtraw at the bottom, and grating over the hatchways. Theſe veſſels were taken through the bridge of Wexford, (which is a draw-bridge) unrigged, and were moored in the middle of the river. A number of the moſt reſpectable gentlemen of the county, who were priſoners, were put on board, and with them Lord Kingsborough and his officers; but he had not been long in this ſituation, before he was ſo beſet with rats, that he was neceſſitated to ſend to Keughe, the then rebel governor of the town, and in the moſt earneſt terms entreat to be removed to any other place, were it ever ſo mean. The requeſt was complied with; and his lordſhip, with his officers, under a ſtrong guard of pike-men, was taken back to his old lodgings at the dram-ſhop. Several times did detachments come from the rebel camp to demand his life; and the day before the town was taken by the King's troops, which was the time fixed upon for a general maſſacre of the priſoners,

a party came to his Lordſhip's lodging to demand his body; but the guards, who were chiefly townſmen, and generally ſpeaking, leſs blood-thirſty than the country-men, refuſed. While this altercation laſted, the Catholic Biſhop Caulfield arrived, and finding all the arguments he could uſe had no effect, ruſhed through the crowd, and forced into the room where his Lordſhip was, placing himſelf before him, told the rebels, if they choſe to fire they might; but if they would murder his Lordſhip, it ſhould not be before they had killed *him*. This threat had the deſired effect; the rebels went away, leaving his Lordſhip and the biſhop together. Lord Kingsborough, however, continued a priſoner 'till ſometime after.

Wilſon's Hoſpital.

This charitable inſtitution, which was ſituated in the county Weſtmeath, was deſtroyed by the inſurgents, becauſe it was a *proteſtant* foundation. They effected this ſoon after the French landed; having aſſembled to the number of 5000 for the purpoſe. Immediately after this outrage, a Prieſt proceeded to celebrate maſs for them; and they then collected in a houſe, a great number of proteſtant men, women, and children, and would have ſet fire to it, but that the King's troops ſeaſonably arrived there.

We ſhall cloſe this account of theſe horrid barbarities, (which were too numerous to admit of recital) with barely mentioning the names of the following Clergymen and gentlemen of reſpectability who, amongſt others, fell victims to the ſanguinary fury of the rebels, —viz,—— The Reverend *Samuel Heydon*, Enniſcorthy. —Reverend *Robert Burrowes*, Oulart.—Reverend *Francis Turner*, Ballinagale;—Reverend Mr: *Pentland*, Rillan; —Reverend

—Reverend Mr. *Troke* Templeſhambo;—Captain *Allen* Cooleliſe;—Major *William Hore*, Harpurſtown——*Edward Turner*, Eſq; Stone-lodge;—*Edward Howlin D'Arcy*, Eſq; Balnahown, with many others.

We may conclude this narrative with the following extract from Mr. *Belſham's* hiſtory of the preſent reign, which as it contains ſome pertinent and we apprehend impartial obſervations, may ſerve as a brief recapitulation of events.*

"It is now highly requiſite to take a general view of that ſtate of affairs in Ireland which excited ſuch great and juſt alarm in the parliament and miniſtry of Great Britain. Certain it is, that from the æra of the firſt acquiſition of Ireland by the Engliſh, in the reign of Henry II. to the preſent time, the Iriſh nation, if by the nation is meant the bulk of the people, were never reconciled to the Engliſh government. They were indeed conſidered by England, and they conſidered themſelves, as a conquered people: they regarded the Engliſh government as a yoke, which it was not only lawful but meritorious to throw off, whenever they had the power and the opportunity. The general and obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Iriſh nation in the reign of Elizabeth, to go no further back, of Charles I. and of king William, to the whole power of England, affords irrefragable demonſtration of this grand truth. In conſequence of the immenſe confiſcations which ſucceeded the ſuppreſſion of theſe three rebellions, almoſt the whole landed property of the kingdom was transferred to the Engliſh ſettlers and their deſcendants, who formed as it were a diſtinct colony in Ireland, a nation within a nation, differing in manners, cuſtoms, language, and religion; and in whom, as the Iriſh catholics were deprived of the privileges of the conſtitution, and under a legal proſcription, not only the whole property,

* Belſham's mem. Geo. III. Vol. III. Engliſh edition.

but the whole political power and influence of the country, was for a long ſucceſſion of years excluſively veſted. "At "Clonnell, near Caſtlereagh," ſays a well known modern writer "lives O'Connor, the direct deſcendant of Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught 700 years ago. His monument, with the enſigns of royalty, is in Roſcommon church This family has ſuffered more in the revolution of ages than the O'Neils and O'Bryens The common people, however, pay him great reſpect, and conſider him as the prince of a people involved in one common ruin." *

The Engliſh colony in Ireland, or, adopting the phraſe formerly in uſe, "the Engliſh ſettlers within the pale," bearing no proportion in numbers to the genuine native Iriſh, were compelled to depend entirely upon the government of England for ſupport. The Iriſh legiſlature therefore readily, if not willingly, ſubmitted to the ſupreme authority aſſumed by the parliament of England as the price of their ſecurity. Or if they ever ſhewed a diſpoſition to conteſt this legiſlative ſuperiority, as in the reigns of king William and king George I. the reſiſtance was neither very ſerious or permanent. From the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, although the laws againſt popery, till a recent period, ſuffered no relaxation, the government of the country was adminiſtered in the ſpirit of mildneſs. The civilization of the inhabitants and the commercial induſtry of the community increaſed; improvements of all kinds made great and rapid advances; and the Catholics participated, however unequally, in the general proſperity; loſing gradually their attachment to the baniſhed houſe of Stuart, and acquiring with the increaſing liberality of the times additional degrees of light and knowledge. After centuries of animoſity, the Catholics and Proteſtants ſeemed at length to *begin* to conſider themſelves as having a com-

* *Vide* Arthur Young's 'Tour to Ireland.'

a common and national intereſt diſtinct from that of England. The loyalty diſcovered by the Iriſh Catholics during the unfortunate diſpute with America, and the deſire of preſerving and increaſing that attachment, combined with a ſenſe doubtleſs of the injuſtice of the laws under which they ſuffered, induced the government here from time to time to exert its influence in the Iriſh legiſlature, to grant them ſuch relief as they were deemed entitled or qualified to receive: and every new acquiſition of liberty, or exemption from oppreſſion, confirmed and ſtrengthened the impreſſion of a common and national intereſt. The Iriſh legiſlature itſelf ſeemed to encourage the pleaſing and patriotic idea; and ſeeing the great diſtreſs and embarraſſment of England during the laſt years of the American war, Ireland eagerly embraced the golden opportunity to extort from her, firſt the grant of a free trade, and then the recognition of her political independence.

In making theſe demands the Iriſh parliament felt itſelf ſupported by the voice of the whole nation; the intereſt of the Catholics being no leſs concerned than that of the Proteſtants in the one, and their national pride no leſs gratified by the other. But no ſooner had theſe two grand points been carried by the aid and powerful concurrence of the Catholics, than they reverted with keener ſenſibility to thoſe ſevere unrepealed laws which ſtill placed them, as they conceived, out of the pale of the conſtitution.* They now, therefore,

* "The declared object of the popery laws," ſays Mr. Burke, in his letter to ſir Hercules Langriſhe, "was to reduce the Catholics of Ireland to a miſerable populace, without property, without eſtimation, without education. They divided the nation into two diſtinct bodies, without common intereſt, ſympathy, or connexion. The old code was a complete ſyſtem full of coherence and conſiſtency, well digeſted, and well compoſed, in all its

therefore, bent all their efforts to obtain a radical reform of the repreſentation; which, as they juſtly believed, would lead to a total abolition of the exiſting penal ſtatutes. But the Iriſh parliament, which had no longer any cauſe of contention with England, received their applications with the higheſt degree of jealouſy and averſion. Whither this radical reform would ultimately tend was indeed too obvious not to excite the ſpirit of determined reſiſtance in the legiſlatures of both countries, who trembled at the apprehenſion of a ſerious inveſtigation of the ſubſiſting abuſes in church and ſtate: and, ſhould a majority of Catholics be elected in conſequence of this reform, the very exiſtence of the Proteſtant government and Proteſtant eſtabliſhment in Ireland would be endangered. Tho' ſome conceſſions were made therefore in ſubordinate matters, every motion brought forward in parliament for a reform in the repreſentation was rejected by vaſt majorities, the influence of the executive government being in perfect union on this point with the inclinations, fears, and prejudices, of the legiſlative body.

In conſequence of their repeated diſappointments, the Iriſh Catholics remained in a ſtate of extreme diſſatisfaction, and almoſt deſpondency, till the great event of the French revolution inſpired them with new hopes and freſh courage. The juſt and noble principles of government promulgated by the Conſtituent Aſſembly, ſo congenial to the feelings of an oppreſſed and perſecuted people, were eagerly and enthuſiaſtically embraced by the Catholics of Ireland; as well as by that large proportion of the Iriſh proteſtants who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed church,—a great and reſpectable claſs of men, who were formerly for the moſt part adverſe to the claims

its parts; it was a machine of wiſe and elaborate contrivance; and as well fitted for the oppreſſion, impoveriſhment, and degradation of a people, and the debaſement in them of human-nature itſelf, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." P. 86-87.

claims of the Catholics, but who were now the avowed and zealous defenders of their equity and juſtice.

In the year 1791, the famous ſociety of United Iriſhmen was formed, which profeſſed to have in view the abolition of all legal teſts and proſcriptions; the entire emancipation of the Catholics; and a radical reform in parliament:—and there exiſts not the leaſt proof of preſumption that the views of the ſociety at its firſt inſtitution, or for ſeveral years afterward, extended beyond theſe profeſsions, whatever might be the concealed deſign of individuals. The governments of both kingdoms nevertheleſs continued ſtill as inimical as ever both to the reform in parliament, and the complete emancipation of the Catholics.

Such was the ſtate of things when Great-Britain, againſt every rule of good policy, and even of common ſenſe, entered into the confederacy againſt France. As it was now of the utmoſt importance that the ſpirit of diſcontent in Ireland ſhould be ſuffered to riſe to diſaffection, the famous Catholic Toleration Bill was introduced into the Iriſh parliament, in the ſeſſion of 1793, under the ſanction of government, and on the expreſs recommendation of the ſovereign. This bill, in its paſſage through the two houſes, was much cramped and limited in its operation by the ſpirit of bigotry and folly: when paſſed, it was perceived to fall extremely ſhort of its profeſſed object; and the Catholics, diſpleaſed and diſappointed, declared loudly that nothing leſs would ſatisfy them than a complete emancipation and admiſſion to all the privileges of the conſtitution. To this claim the Engliſh government, whoſe intentions reſpecting the Catholics had not been fulfilled by the late bill, appeared to hearken with favorable attention: and, at the cloſe of the year 1794, earl Fitzwilliam was appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with full powers, as he himſelf, and the whole kingdom of Ireland, underſtood, to carry the plan

of

of emancipation into effect.—That thus much might have been conceded with the moſt perfect ſafety, and that the moſt beneficial conſequences would have reſulted from it, there cannot exiſt the ſhadow of a reaſonable doubt: and that the ſpirit of conciliation and of wiſdom might have happily compromiſed the remaining difficulties, relative to parliamentary reform and the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, is ſcarcely more probematical. But by ſome indiſcreet and premature diſmiſſals from office, lord Fitzwilliam alarmed the whole body of "king's friends," Tories, and "Swiſs of State," who would moſt probably have conformed to any plan, however favorable to liberty and liberality (that is, in other words, however contrary to their own malignant prejudices and inclinations), had they been allowed to retain their places. But the immediate conſequence of the too daring attack of lord Fitzwilliam upon this formidable phalanx was the peremptory recall of his lordſhip, the re-inſtatement of the diſplaced courtiers, and the grief, rage, and ruin, of the country.

This virtuous and patriotic nobleman was ſucceeded in the government of Ireland, as has been already related, by the earl of Camden; under whoſe diſaſtrous adminiſtration, diſaffection and oppreſſion, each operating alternatively as the efficient cauſe of the other, were ſoon carried to a moſt alarming and terrible height. In the month of March 1796 was paſſed the famous Inſurrection Act, empowering the magiſtrates in any county or diſtrict to proclaim it out of the king's peace; and conſequently to ſubject the wretched inhabitants, at their diſcretion, or, in other words, their pleaſure, to military law, under colour of which the moſt horrible outrages were perpetrated.

Nevertheleſs, to the concluſion of that year, the Catholics ſtill flattered themſelves that a change of ſyſtem would take place in their favor; and when the French attempted an invaſion in the month of December, the whole kingdom, Catholics

tholics and Proteſtants, forgetting for the time their contentions and animoſities, diſplayed only an emulation of ardour in the national defence,—as the lord-lieutenant himſelf acknowledged in his official diſpatches. But the patience and forbearance of the Catholics were at length exhauſted; and the government, ſtill ſhewing itſelf proudly and obſtinately hoſtile to their humble claims, they ſuddenly and totally altered their whole plan of policy; and, in deſpair of obtaining juſtice at home, they entered into dark and dangerous intrigues with the French government, which in a ſhort time matured into a ſecret and treaſonable conſpiracy, by the aid and aſſiſtance of that hoſtile power, to ſubvert the exiſting conſtitution of their country, and to diſſolve for ever its connexion with Britain.

"Altho' the impolicy of the Engliſh government (ſays Mr. Belſham) in raiſing the hopes of the Iriſh Catholics to the higheſt pitch by the appointment of Ld. Fitzwilliam, and then daſhing the cup of expectation from their lips by his ſudden recall, is ſo egregious as to admit of no extenuation, it by no means follows that the revolt of the Iriſh Catholics, in actual circumſtances, was to be vindicated upon any true principles of reaſon. To whatever motives it might be aſcribed, no one could controvert the fact that the preſent reign had been to the Catholics a reign of indulgence and conceſſion. By the laſt act of toleration, they wanted, comparatively, but little of being reſtored to the perfect enjoyment of *civil liberty*; and as the current upon the whole ran in their favor, notwithſtanding ſome occaſional and temporary diſappointments, there is good ground to believe that, had they conducted themſelves with temper and moderation, they would ultimately have ſucceeded in their attempts to be reſtored to their rights as men and citizens in their fulleſt extent; to their political as well as civil exiſtence. After the act of 1793 they ſuffered under no poſitive oppreſſion; their grievances were thenceforth negatived only;

only: and surely it is not every error in government, it is not every refusal to comply with a claim in itself just and equitable, that will justify resistance, or authorize an appeal *to arms* Obedience to the magistrate is the general rule of duty not to be departed from but on great and extraordinary occasions, and upon urgent motives, such as can never be pleaded in defence or extenuation of the Irish revolt of 1798.

"And to view this transaction in another light, it may be pronounced no less rash and imprudent than immoral and unjust. The number of those who had entered into the association of United Irishmen, who had sworn fidelity to the rules of the institution, and who had been led on, step by step, to engage in this conspiracy against the government, was indeed prodigious; but still the power both of the sword and the purse, that most potent of all combinations, was in the hands of the Protestants, and, in case of necessity, the government of Ireland would, no doubt, be supported by the mighty force of Britain. The Irish Catholics must therefore be reduced to an absolute dependence upon France in order to establish their visionary independency. But what scenes of carnage and of horror must the wretched inhabitants of Ireland witness before the existing government could be subverted by the aid of such an ally! And even supposing the object itself attained, did the conduct of France in other countries afford them any rational ground of expectancy that she would act upon principles of equity, moderation, and generosity, to Ireland? What had been her policy in Belgium, in Lombardy, in Venice? Even Holland, the only country where the French had appeared to observe any bounds or limits of moderation, was degraded to the rank of a dependent province;—and such, no doubt, would have been the fate of Ireland, had she succeeded in her wild and romantic project of separating herself from Great Britain.

So

" So early as the year 1794, the French government had, for the purpoſe of acquiring intelligence, ſent, as an agent into theſe kingdoms, one Jackſon, a native of Ireland, of the clerical profeſſion, who came to England recommended, as far as appears, to no other perſon than a Mr. Stone, merchant, at Old-ford near London, whoſe brother, a violent democrat, but a man of ſome parts and plausibility, had a few years before removed to Paris in order to enjoy the bleſſings of French liberty. The merchant Stone, a man to the laſt degree weak and vain, received this dangerous friend with much hoſpitality, taking pains in their frequent conferences upon the ſtate of affairs, to convince him of the impolicy and impracticability of any attempt upon England: and to corroborate his own opinion, he obtained from divers highly-reſpectable perſons, to whom he had occaſional acceſs, their verbal or written ſentiments to the ſame effect—boaſting in lofty terms the great ſervice he ſhould be able, in conſequence of the communication he held with his brother in France, to render to this country. On applying, however, to Mr. Sheridan, he received very properly for anſwer, " that he would neither receive any information nor give any opinion; and that whatever he had to diſcloſe ought to be addreſſed to the ſecretary of ſtate, Mr. Dundas, who would judge of the importance of it."—Upon the whole, Jackſon being convinced that the project of an invaſion of England was hopeleſs, repaired to Ireland, where he ſtill continued his correſpondence with Stone; both writing under feigned names, and in terms of confidence which ſhewed, on the part of Stone, to ſay the leaſt, inconceivable indiſcretion. The correſpondence being intercepted by government, both Jackſon and Stone, were in a ſhort time apprehended on a charge of high-treaſon; and the former was convicted on the moſt deciſive evidence. When brought up for ſentence, however, he fell down ſuddenly, and expired before it could be pronounced. Stone, after a long confinement,

was

was also tried ; but the evidence being by no means clear, and his intentions, with respect to England at least, appearing upon the whole innocent, and even laudable, he was, by the candor of the jury, acquitted of the treason imputed to him, and soon afterwards followed his brother to France.

" Immediately on the conviction of Jackson, Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, accounted the original founder of the society of United Irishmen, Mr. Hamilton Rowan, and some other distinguished members of that association, who even thus early had formed deep designs against the existing government, thought it necessary to abscond.

" At the commencement of the year 1795 lord Fitzwilliam went over with powers which, had he been fortunately suffered to act upon them, would, beyond all question, have completely tranquillised the nation. On his departure, things soon began to wear a most serious aspect; and the society of United Irishmen received an important accession of men of parts and influence ;—amongst others, the celebrated Arthur O'Connor, who had distinguished himself as a zealous partizan of the measures proposed by lord Fitzwilliam ; Dr. M'Nevin, chairman of the Catholic committee ; and Mr. Oliver Bond, an opulent merchant of Dublin. The general views of the society at this time seem to have been lawful and just: but those of the leaders went certainly much farther, and very dangerous lengths. Though parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, and the abolition of tythes, were still the professed objects, they appeared from this period to address themselves much more to the passions than to the judgment of the people at large ; and to exert unwearied pains to diffuse opinions calculated to re-kindle in all its antient fury the immortal hatred between the Catholic and Protestant sects ; representing to the former the dreadful injuries inflicted

inflicted upon their anceſtors by the latter, of which the Catholics yet felt the grievous effect: and it has been upon high authority affirmed, that in the province of Leinſter, the common people, at firſt averſe to the meaſures propoſed to them, were terrified into an active concurrence, in conſequence of being aſſured by the emiſſaries of treaſon that it was neceſſary in their own defence, as their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects had entered into a ſolemn league and covenant to deſtroy them, having ſworn to wade up to their knees in popiſh blood.*

"At the latter end of this year a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the ſociety and the French Directory, through the medium of Mr. Wolfe Tone and other Iriſh refugees And early in the following year a propoſition was received from the French government, that an army ſhould be ſent over to Ireland to aſſiſt in the projected effort to ſubvert the monarchy, and to ſeparate Ireland from the Britiſh connexion. The propoſition was accepted by the ſecret committee of the ſociety, which had now extended itſelf over the whole kingdom, being regularly organized into primary aſſemblies, a certain number of delegates from which compoſed what they ſtyled the baronial committee; whence a ſecond delegation formed the county committee. Delegates in the ſame manner from the county committees conſtituted the provincial committee; and the provincial committees made choice of five perſons, who compoſed the national committee, ſtyling themſelves the Iriſh Executive Directory, whoſe orders were implicitly obeyed by the members of the union throughout the whole kingdom.

"In the ſummer of 1796, lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the duke of Leinſter, and a zealous leader of the aſſociation, in company with Mr. Arthur O'Connor, both members of the Iriſh Directory, repaired to the continent, and

* Report of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, A. D. 1799.

and proceeding to Switzerland, held a conference near the French frontier with general Hoche, in which the plan of the invasion was finally adjusted. The causes which rendered that expedition abortive have been already narrated; but the loyalty displayed on that occasion by the Irish commonalty clearly proves that the Irish and French Directories had greatly miscalculated concerning the general disposition of the people at this juncture. The Irish leaders appeared, however, extremely resolute in the prosecution of their criminal designs; and the alliance with France became, in consequence of this failure, only the more firmly cemented. One Lewins was nominated resident minister of the IRISH REPUBLIC at Paris; and, in the summer of 1797, an ambassador extraordinary, Dr. M'Nevin, a member of the Irish executive directory, was deputed to Paris to make the necessary arrangements for a second invasion. The French government avoided returning any definitive answer till the issue of the negociation at Lisle was determined; on the rupture of which they were lavish in their assurances of speedy and effectual support.

"Two armaments, one from Holland, the other from France, were destined to sail nearly at the same time for Ireland; but the total defeat of the Dutch fleet under admiral De Winter by lord Duncan entirely disconcerted this second plan; the French government, depending upon this co-operation, not choosing to risque the safety of their own fleet by permitting it to put to sea from Brest after this unlooked-for disaster. Thus the favourable moment was lost; for things were now come to a crisis; and the project of insurrection, if executed at all, could no longer be deferred.

"Notwithstanding the mutual assurances of regard and fraternity which passed between the two directories, it is certain that great jealousies subsisted on the part of Ireland

land at leaſt, and not without good reaſon, of the ſecret deſigns of the French government, which were ſuſpected to aim at the ultimate ſubjection of the ſiſter republic. Lord Edward Fitzgerald and other chiefs of the Iriſh union, abſurdly confident in their own ſtrength, were deſirous of limiting the aſſiſtance of France to 10,000 men and 40,000 ſtand of arms. But the French, who were not deceived in the magnitude of the undertaking, declared an army of 50,000 men to be requiſite in order to eſtabliſh the *independency* and *liberty* of Ireland. They engaged, however, to ſend ſuch ſuccours as circumſtances would admit in aid of the intended inſurrection, and which would arrive in Ireland at the end of April or the beginning of May.*

" At the commencement of the year 1798 a grand effort was reſolved upon. In the month of February a military commiſſion was appointed by the executive council, and inſtructions iſſued to the adjutants-general. Nocturnal aſſemblies were held in all parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the uſe of arms. The boldeſt depredations were made, the moſt unqualified menaces thrown out, and every thing ſeemed to preſage the near approach of a dreadful exploſion. On the other hand, where the king's troops and the Orange volunteer corps prevailed, the moſt horrid barbarities were practiſed upon the perſons, and the moſt ſhocking ravages committed upon the properties, of the aſſociated Iriſhmen; and it ſeemed to be the policy of government to irritate and provoke them into a premature revolt.

" The earl of Moira, at this time reſident in Ireland, on the 19th of February moved, in the Iriſh houſe of peers,

an

* Report of the Secret Committee (England.)

an addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, beſeeching his excellency "to purſue ſuch conciliatory meaſures as might allay the apprehenſions, and extinguiſh the diſcontents, unhappily prevalent in the country." This was the laſt almoſt hopeleſs effort of humanity and wiſdom to compoſe the differences, and heal the diſtractions, of this unfortunate and undone country. His lordſhip recapitulated thoſe abominable acts of cruelty and torture, flogging, picketing, half-hanging, &c. by which the confeſſion of crimes had, in innumerable inſtances, been extorted from perſons againſt whom no legal evidence could be adduced, and no reaſonable cauſe even of ſuſpicion exiſted—perſons who, unleſs under the momentary preſſure of excruciating agony, ſtill perſiſted in the avowal of their innocence. His lordſhip declared his intention, if his ſtatement of facts was denied, to move for the examination of witneſſes at the bar of the houſe.* He admitted the probable exiſtence of conſpiracy in the kingdom: "but do not," ſaid he, "on a looſe charge of partial tranſgreſſion, inflict puniſhment on a whole community. The ſtate of ſociety is dreadful indeed, when the ſafety of every man is at the mercy of a ſecret informer; when the cupidity, the malevolence, or the erroneous ſuſpicions of an individual are ſufficient to deſtroy his neighbour." His lordſhip ſtigmatized, in the ſevereſt

* "Innumerable are the examples," ſays a juſtly-celebrated writer, "of innocent perſons, who, from the agony of torture, have confeſſed themſelves guilty. Lives there a man who, when he reflects on ſuch cruelty, is not tempted to fly from ſociety, and return to his natural ſtate of independence? The reſult of torture is a matter of calculation, and depends on the conſtitution, which differs in every individual. To diſcover truth by this method is a problem to be reſolved only by a mathematician; who, when the force of the muſcles, and the ſenſibility of the nerves, of an innocent perſon are preciſely ſtated, may be required to find the degree of pain neceſſary to make him confeſs himſelf guilty of a given crime."

BECCARIA *on Crimes and Puniſhments.*

severest terms of reproach, the culpable misconduct of ministers in the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, and the final refusal of government to concede to the Catholics those immunities which would give them a common interest with their countrymen. With respect to the question of parliamentary reform, though he had himself no high idea of its practical benefit, he was of opinion that it had a just claim to be candidly investigated, and that the general voice of the country ought to be complied with.

"What effect measures of conciliation, if adopted at this late period, would have produced, it is not easy to conjecture. If they had not extinguished the conspiracy, they would have extremely disconcerted the conspirators, and weakened the bonds of the association. But there was as little hope on the one side as fear on the other, that any such measures would be adopted. The lord-chancellor Fitzgibbon, recently created Earl of Clare, ventured boldly to assert, "that the system of government had been a system of conciliation; that in no place had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland, and in none had it so completely failed." His lordship adduced strong facts to demonstrate that the object of the Society of United Irishmen was to overthrow the government and dissolve the British connection. "He did not justify the proceedings of the Orange-men, but he asserted that they were not enemies to their country. He did not approve the tortures, burnings, assassinations, and murderings, of which the noble lord had spoken; but he was compelled to observe, that when treason and rebellion make it necessary to call out the military, it is not always possible to restrain their resentments."

"The lord-chancellor having, in course of his speech, passed some reflections on the bishop of Down, who had

promoted a petition to the king in favor of conciliatory meaſures, that prelate, with much firmneſs and dignity, vindicated his character from the illiberal aſperſions thus publicly thrown upon it. He acknowledged "that he was a friend to conciliation. Coercion," he ſaid, "had been tried long enough. With reſpect to Catholic emancipation, he conſidered it as a matter of right, not of favor; and a reform of parliament as an act of policy, which the ſtate of the country rendered abſolutely neceſſary: and the preſent calamities of the country he aſcribed to that moſt impolitic and lamentable meaſure, the recall of lord Fitzwilliam." The motion of lord Moira was finally rejected by a very large majority.

"It is a memorable circumſtance, that, nine days only after this debate, ſir Ralph Abercrombie, commander-in-chief, declared in public orders, "that the very diſgraceful frequency of court martial, and the many complaints of irregularities in the conduct of the troops in that kingdom, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a ſtate of licentiouſneſs which muſt render it formidable to every one but the enemy." This able and highly-reſpected officer was immediately ſuperſeded by general Lake.

"Early in the new year, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, one of the pretended Executive Directory, leaving Ireland, had arrived in London, with an intention of proceeding to France in company with one Binns a very active member of the Correſponding Society, James O'Coigley an Iriſh prieſt, and two other perſons of the names of Allen and Leary. During the temporary reſidence of Mr. O'Connor in London, that gentleman, and O'Coigley the prieſt, a man of great courage, activity, and addreſs, kept up a confidential intercourſe with the principal members of the popular ſocieties in London; which, in conſequence of the ſevere and impolitic meaſures of government, had gone on in the uſual progreſſion,

greſſion, from diſcontent to diaffection; and the object of whoſe moſt daring leaders, for two years paſt, had avowedly been the eſtabliſhment of a Britiſh republic by the aſſiſtance of France; and meetings were privately held to concert the means of procuring arms to enable them to cooperate with the French forces in caſe of an invaſion. A traitorous cabal of this ſort was attended by O'Connor and O'Coigley, at an apartment in Furnival's Inn, which was the cuſtomary place of reſort with thoſe who were moſt deeply engaged in the conſpiracy; and ſecret conſultations were here carried on with a view to projects deemed too dangerous and deſperate to be brought forward in any of the larger ſocieties. Amongſt theſe plans, it is pretended, was a moſt horrid one, for effecting a general inſurrection at the ſame moment in the metropolis and throughout the country; and of directing it to the object of ſeizing or aſſaſſinating the king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houſes of parliament. An officer of ſome experience in his majeſty's ſervice was ſelected as their military leader; and, though theſe plans were not as yet ſufficiently matured to warrant any preſent attempt, the moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained that the time was nearly ripe for meaſures of open violence.

"Attempts have been recently made, and with much ſucceſs, to form in this country a ſociety of United Engliſhmen, on the model of that of the United Iriſh, and O'Coigley and Binns were the leading perſons in that deſign. In and about the town of Mancheſter only, the aſſociation had extended itſelf to no leſs than eighty diviſions, containing from fifteen to thirty-ſix members each; and it was organized in like manner with that of Ireland, under the direction of county and provincial committees, &c. the whole being governed by a ſecret executive committee, whoſe orders were implicitly obeyed by all the members of the ſociety. An aſſociation of the ſame nature was alſo eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and

and both of them maintained an intimate intercourſe with the original correſponding Society.*

" Government having received accurate intelligence relative to the motions and deſigns of O'Connor and his companions, on the 28th of May they were taken into cuſtody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a paſſage to France. Upon the prieſt O'Coigley was found a paper, ſtyled an Addreſs from the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France, clearly demonſtrating the traitorous views of thoſe concerned in the framing or tranſmiſſion of it to the French government. Being brought to their trial at Maidſtone, in a few weeks, O'Coigley was capitally convicted, on the evidence of the paper in queſtion, of high-treaſon, and immediately executed; ſuffering with heroic fortitude, as a victim in the cauſe of his country, the utmoſt penalties of the law. Nothing beyond preſumptions appearing againſt his companions; Allen and Leary were by the lenity of the Engliſh maxims of juriſprudence, ſet at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns, notwithſtanding their acquittal, were detained on another charge of high-treaſon, no doubt on very good grounds, preferred againſt them. The rank in life and connections of O'Connor being very diſtinguiſhed, as the nephew and reputed heir of lord Longueville; his manners alſo being prepoſſeſſing, and his general integrity of character unimpeached; he had eaſy introduction

* Theſe particulars are taken from the Reports of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, preſented by Mr. Dundas, January 23, 1799, which being itſelf founded on the *reports* of the government ſpies, muſt be received with many grains of allowance. The plot for aſſaſſinating the king and royal family &c. ſeems an incredible extravagance, and has been confirmed by no collateral evidence. Of the diſaffection of the leaders of the popular ſocieties *at this period*, however, there can remain no reaſonable doubt. The " experienced officer" alluded to, is ſuppoſed to have been the unfortunate colonel Deſpard.

on to ſome of the firſt families in England, chiefly thoſe connected with the oppoſition; and from a principle of honor, cautiouſly and carefully concealing from them his real deſigns, he was univerſally believed to have extended his views no farther than the entire emancipation of the Catholics, and a radical reform of parliament upon the principles of the conſtitution. Several perſons, therefore, of the firſt diſtinction and merit appeared at Maidſtone to give evidence to his character as, to the beſt of their knowledge and belief, a true and loyal ſubject, which excited much temporary abuſe and obloquy in the miniſterial prints.

"The criſis was now arrived which was to prove fatal either to the government or to the conſpirators. In a complicated plan of conſpiracy, the agency of many perſons muſt be employed; and, as the plot ripens to maturity, the ſecret of it muſt be gradually diſcloſed. Among the perſons admitted to a conſiderable ſhare of confidence, was one Reynolds, formerly a ſilk manufacturer in Dublin, but now reſident in the county of Kildare. Having been ſworn an United Iriſhman in February, 1797, Reynolds was in the following winter appointed treaſurer to the county, and alſo a colonel in the army of the inſurgents. On the 25th of February, 1798, this loyal traitor diſcloſed to a partiſan of government, of the name of Cope, the nature and whole extent of the conſpiracy, being particularly careful not to omit that a meeting of delegates for the province of Leinſter was ſummoned for the 12th of March, at the houſe of Mr. Oliver Bond, one of the five executive directors. At the day and hour appointed for the meeting, the houſe of Mr. Bond was beſet by the officers of juſtice. Fourteen of the delegates, with their ſecretary, were apprehended, and, at the ſame time, Dr. M'Nevin and counſellor Emmett, both of the directory, and ſeveral other leading members of the ſociety were taken into cuſtody.

A warrant

" A warrant was alſo iſſued againſt lord Edward Fitzgerald ; but he eſcaped, and remained for ſeveral weeks concealed in the city of Dublin, but was at length diſcovered in the houſe of one Murphy, a dealer in feathers. On the police officers entering the room, the unhappy nobleman made a deſperate but hopeleſs, and, againſt men employed in the diſcharge of their public duty, very improper defence. He wounded two of the principals, Mr. Juſtice Swan and a captain Ryan, dangerouſly; the latter, as it proved, mortally; and was himſelf ſo ſeverely hurt in the fray, that, the agitation of his mind alſo no doubt contributing to the cataſtrophe, he languiſhed a few days only before he expired. His intentions appear to have been upright, his views diſintereſted, his courage heroic; but he had deeply imbibed thoſe fatally-romantic notions in politics which are ſo ill calculated to attain the practical purpoſes at which they profeſs to aim.

" Government received alſo full information of the projects of the conſpirators from another quarter. A captain Armſtrong, a man of great art and addreſs, had been inſtructed to profeſs himſelf a convert to the cauſe, to enter into the ſociety, and to obtain, by a ſhew of zeal and all the attentions of aſſiduity, the confidence of the leaders; in all which he ſucceeded to a very great degree, without exciting the remoteſt ſuſpicion.

" The whole body of conſpirators being thrown into the greateſt confuſion and conſternation by the late arreſts, and the whole executive directory being now in ſecure cuſtody, the government, on the 30th of March, publiſhed a proclamation, ſtating, " that the traitorous conſpiracy, long exiſting within this kingdom, had broken out into acts of open rebellion ; and giving notice that the moſt direct and poſitive orders had been iſſued to the officers commanding his Majeſty's forces to employ them with the utmoſt vigor and

and decision for the immediate suppression thereof." And, on the 18th of April, the internal disorders and distractions of the kingdom daily and almost hourly encreasing, major-general Duff gave public notice, "that the lord-lieutenant and council had issued orders to him, to quarter troops, to press horses and carriages, to demand forage and provisions, and to hold courts-martial for the trial of offences of all descriptions, civil and military." The general concludes with saying, "the people are forewarned, that, in case of invasion from the French, if they should attempt to join the enemy, or communicate with him, or join in any insurrection, they will be immediately put to death, and their houses and properties destroyed. The general-officers call on the people to know why they would be less attached to the government now than they were a year ago, when they shewed so much loyalty in assisting his majesty's troops to oppose the landing of the French?"

"A new executive directory had been appointed by the provincial delegates, amongst whom were two brothers of the name of Sheares, by profession barristers, young men of excellent talents, and, politics apart, of unsullied reputation. To these new directors the profligate Armstrong, early in the month of March, obtained an introduction; and from them he learned "that a general rising must immediately take place; that the impatience of the people, since the criminal prosecutions, could no longer be restrained; that it was become necessary to make a great national effort, and relinquish the original plan of waiting for French succours." The project proposed was to seize the camp of Laughlinstown, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, in one night; the 23d of May. It was also planned, that a great insurrection should take place at Cork at the same time. But, on the 21st of that month, the two brothers, Henry and John Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended, the city

city and county of Dublin were proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant and council to be in a ſtate of inſurrection; the guards at the caſtle, and all the great objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was, in fact, converted into a garriſon.

"By theſe precautions the metropolis was happily preſerved from becoming a ſcene of blood and ſlaughter; but on the day prefixed great bodies of the inſurgents appeared in arms in different parts of the country. In a diſpatch from lord Camden to the duke of Portland, May 24th, his excellency ſtates, "that at half paſt two that morning a regular attack had been made by a rebel force, conſiſting of about a thouſand men, armed with muſquets and pikes, upon the town of Naas, fourteen miles only from Dublin, but which was repulſed by the Armagh militia, 4th dragoon guards, and Antient Britiſh fencibles, commanded by lord Gosford." Three of the priſoners taken were immediately hanged in the public ſtreets, by way of example. —About the ſame time general Dundas came up with and defeated a large party of the rebels poſted on the north ſide of the Liffy, near the hills of Kilcullen. On the 25th, a body of about 400 rebels, which had ventured to enter Rathfarnham, a village in the vicinity of Dublin, was encountered by a ſmall party of dragoons, and diſperſed with loſs; their two leaders being taken, were immediately tried by a court-martial and executed.

"On the 26th of May another and much larger diviſion of the rebel force was defeated at Tallagh-hill, about thirteen miles from the metropolis; and nearly at the ſame time they were repulſed in two different attacks on the towns of Carlow and Kildare; in all theſe actions loſing not leſs than a thouſand or twelve hundred men in a very few days after the commencement of hoſtilities. But their chief effort was made in the county of Wexford, where they aſ-

ſembled

ſembled in great force between the towns of Wexford and Enniſcorthy, ſituated on the river Slaney; the latter of which places they carried ſword in hand on the 28th of the ſame month. It was impoſſible for Wexford long to hold out, and, on the 30th, the white flag was diſplayed, and the garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. A ſcene of horrid diſorder and outrage enſued on the entrance of the rebels into the town. The houſes of the Proteſtants were ranſacked, and great numbers of the inhabitants committed to priſon. Three gentlemen of large property, members of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, who had been for ſome time paſt in cuſtody, on a charge of high-treaſon, were at the ſame time liberated, and one of them, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, nominated to the chief command of the rebel army, though in no reſpect qualified for ſo arduous an office.

"Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the rebels marched, under the conduct of their new general, June the 5th, to the attack of New Roſs, where general Johnſon, an excellent officer, commanded. With a view to diſorder the king's troops, who did not amount to 3,000 men, poſted outſide the town, the rebels drove before them with their pikes a vaſt number of horſes and oxen. They had alſo ſome field-pieces and howitzers. The weight of the rebel column, after a brave reſiſtance, forced the troops into the town, fortified only by an old ruinous wall. Here the battle recommenced, and, after a dreadful carnage, the rebels were at length compelled to retreat with great loſs; though the military were prevented by extreme fatigue, the action having laſted eight hours, from attempting a purſuit. The gallant lord Mountjoy was killed early in this engagement, fighting at the head of his own regiment. In revenge for this diſappointmnt, and by way of retaliation for the numerous executions by martial law which had been inflicted upon their deluded adherents in different places, the rebel chiefs

chiefs condemned a great number of the loyaliſts of Wexford and Enniſcorthy to death; and this ſentence was carried into effect a few days after, with circumſtances of exceſſive barbarity.

"On the 9th of June the rebels made an attempt upon Arklow, with as little ſucceſs as the former upon Roſs. Their circumſtances now became critical; general Lake advancing towards the ſeat of the ſouthern rebellion with large reinforcements. The main body of the rebels, to the amount of 18 or 20,000 men, had taken an uncommonly ſtrong poſition within a mile of Enniſcorthy, upon an eminence called Vinegar-hill, from which, had they poſſeſſed any ſhare of military skill, it would have been difficult, if not impracticable, to diſlodge them. A cordon of troops was gradually collected from different quarters, which almoſt ſurrounded the rebel ſtation. The 21ſt of June was deſtined for the grand attack. A column, under general Johnſon, began the fight by an aſſault upon the town of Enniſcorthy, ſituated upon the right bank of the Slaney, immediately under the hill, at the baſe of which that beautiful ſtream flows in a winding channel. Three other columns, under the generals Dundas, Duff, and Needham, aſcended the mountain in different directions. The rebels maintained their ground obſtinately for an hour and a half; but, on perceiving the danger of being ſurrounded, they fled with great precipitation, part of them flying to the mountains of Wicklow, and part to the chain of hills ſeparating the counties of Carlow and Wexford. Being purſued with vigor, and no quarter given, they ſuſtained immenſe loſs; while of the king's troops the whole number of killed, wounded, and priſoners, was ſomething leſs than a hundred; a ſurpriſing proof of the ſuperiority of skill and diſcipline over mere unenlightened courage.

"Wexford

" Wexford was evacuated the next day. General Lake, in his public diſpatch of that date, affirms, that general Moore had entered the place ſo opportunely as to prevent it from being laid in aſhes; and, which was ſtill more intereſting, the premeditated maſſacre of the remaining priſoners—eighty ſix perſons having been murdered by them the preceding day, military muſic attending and playing a dead march, and their bodies, pierced with pikes, thrown over the bridge. Other horrible cruelties were alſo committed by the rebels on the Proteſtants of that vicinity; and, previous to their retreat from New Roſs, it is ſaid, in particular, that poſitive orders were iſſued by one of the rebel commanders, Murphy, a prieſt, to ſet fire to a large barn at Scullabogue, ſome miles diſtant, where a very conſiderable number of their priſoners, including women and children, were confined, in order to prevent their eſcape —and all periſhed, amidſt ſurrounding ſhouts of ſavage exultation.

" Harvey, the rebel general, who had expreſſed ſome diſapprobation of theſe enormities, was diveſted of his command after the battle of Roſs; and their leaders were choſen from the moſt barbarous and bigoted of their own ſect. Having been ſuffered to abſcond, this unhappy man, who ſaw and acknowledged his error when too late, ſought to conceal himſelf in a cave upon one of the rocky iſlands which lie near the entrance of Wexford harbour. But being diſcovered, he was immediately tried by a court-martial, and convicted; and with divers other perſons, executed June the 26th, on the bridge of Wexford. On the ſame day a large body of the rebels, with the bloody bigot father Murphy at their head, who had eſcaped from Vinegar-hill, were defeated by general ſir Charles Aſgill, at Kilconnel,—conſiderably more than a thouſand men being killed on the ſpot, with trifling loſs on the part of the king's troops.

troops. Murphy was ſoon after taken in his flight, and moſt deſervedly hanged.

" Whatever might be the fond and deluſive hopes entertained by the comparatively very ſmall number of rebel chieftains, who, uninfected by the contagion of religious phrenſy, had embraced the new doctrines of liberty, equality, and univerſal fraternization, it immediateely appeared, upon the breaking-out of this ſanguinary rebellion, how utterly unable they were to inſpire the bulk of their ignorant, ferocious, and brutal followers with ſentiments of common humanity, or to reſtrain them within the limits of law, equity, or juſtice. The generality of the prieſts who appeared openly in this rebellion took the utmoſt pains to diffuſe, as widely as poſſible, the malignant ſpirit of religious bigotry and inveterate animoſity againſt the Proteſtants, very few of whom were found in the ranks of the rebel army. Thoſe who had been imprudent enough to enter were either obliged carefully to conceal their religion, or ſubmit to be re-baptized by the prieſts, who were continually preaching up, that, in deſtroying heretics, they were performing a duty to heaven. Murphy, one of the moſt popular and profligate of this claſs, in a ſermon delivered by him after the defeat at Roſs, declared, " that thoſe who were killed in that battle had fallen in conſequence of their want of *faith*—that this general riſing of the Catholics was viſibly the work of God—that the Almighty had determined the heretics, after having reigned ſo many years, ſhould be now extirpated, and the true Catholic religion eſtabliſhed." At the ſucceſsful attack at Three-Rocks, previous to the ſurrender of Wexford, the ſame Murphy marched at their head, telling them " not to fear; for if they took up the duſt from the roads, and threw it at the king's troops, they would fall dead before them." Many of the prieſts pretended to give charms to prevent the balls of the ſoldiery from hurting them; and father Roche, one of the number

(as

(as was believed by these poor credulous wretches) did constantly catch the bullets that came from his Majesty's army in his hand.* Such were the base materials with which the rash and presumptuous leaders of this rebellion hoped to construct, in the room of the existing government, a pure and perfect fabric of uncontaminated democracy! Certainly, a more crude, wild, and visionary project, never entered into the head or heart of man. It must not, however, be supposed, that the higher description of Catholics, whether ecclesiastical or civil, were in any degree implicated in this atrocious revolt, and much less that they approved of the mode of conducting it On the contrary, the whole body of the Catholic prelacy, comprehending the twenty-two titular bishops and archbishops, with the lords Fingal, Southwell. Gormanstown, and Kenmare, sir Edward Bellew, sir Thomas Burke, &c. &c. signed and published a paper, containing a very strong dissuasive from joining in the rebellion, and exhortation to all who were concerned in it to return to their allegiance,—declaring, "that, by refusing to relinquish the treasonable plans in which they are engaged, they will not only subject themselves to the loss of life and property, but throw on the religion, of which they profess to be advocates, the most indelible stain.

"After the great defeat at Enniscorthy, the rebels were never able to rally, or to appear again in any considerable force in the southern parts of the kingdom. In the north, where general Nugent commanded, the insurrection became general throughout the counties of Down and Antrim. The town of Antrim was for a short time in the possession of the rebels, but they were, on the 7th of June, driven out of that place after a sharp engagement and cannonade. In this action lord O'Neil received a dangerous wound, of which he afterwards

* *Vide* "Report of the Irish House of Commons."—Also "Appendix to Jackson's Narrative."

afterwards died. On the 12th of the ſame month their main force, amounting at moſt to 6 or 7,000 men, was attacked and totally defeated at Ballynahinch. A party of the rebels alſo were repulſed at Carrickfergus ; and, in a ſhort time, the generality of the inſurgents laid down their arms, and the tranquillity of Ulſter was reſtored.*

" Though no diſſatisfaction was expreſſed at the conduct of Lord Camden, it was deemed proper by the Engliſh cabinet, that, in the exiſting circumſtances Ireland ſhould be placed under the government of a military Lord-Lieutenant, who might, nevertheleſs, be of a temper leſs obdurate than the preſent viceroy ;—and an happy choice was made in the perſon of the marquis Cornwallis, who arrived in Dublin on the 20th of June ; and under his auſpices the general ſyſtem of government immediately changed to that of moderation and

† " The horrible cruelties," ſays a certain writer, zealous in the cauſe of government, " exerciſed by the great body of the rebels in Leinſter, on the Proteſtants, ſoon alarmed the few Diſſenters, confederates of the Romiſh inſurgents in the north. They immediately ſaw into the real deſign of their new allies; and withdrawing themſelves from a conſpiracy, which they clearly perceived would in its ſucceſs be attended with their own deſtruction, all projects of rebellion vaniſhed in the province of Ulster. Rebellion there was but partially entertained; it never had very numerous partizans; and and the flame, thus feeble, was eaſily quenched, never to be re-kindled.—The great ſtrength of the rebellion lay in the province of Leinster. The whole maſs of the Romiſh inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow; Wexford Kildare, and Carlow, roſe at once. Many inhabitants of the adjacent counties, particularly of Meath and Dublin, of the ſame religious perſuaſion, joined them. Their number in arms at one time amounted to upwards of 50,000 men. Confiding in this ſtrength, they did not think it neceſſary to conceal their deſigns of extirpating the Protestants :—the exciſion of all heretics they, on the contrary, proclaimed to be their object and intention, and evinced by their actions the ſincerity of this declaration."

DUIGENAN'S ' *Repreſentation of the Political State of Ireland.*

and lenity. Some ſevere examples were, however, deemed abſolutely neceſſary; and a ſpecial commiſſion was, in a ſhort time, opened in Dublin for the trial of the principal delinquents. At the bar of this court the brothers, John and Henry Sheares; M'Can, ſecretary to the provincial meeting; and O'Byrne, a noted member of the United Aſſociation; were all tried and executed. Mr. Oliver Bond was likewiſe tried on the 23d of July, convicted and condemned; and in his fate the other conſpirators now began to read and foreſee their own.

"The rebellion was by this time apparently cruſhed: the people were every where returning to their allegiance, and delivering up their arms. Their hopes from France had been miſerable diſappointed, and nothing appeared before their eyes but individual deſtruction, without having effected any one purpoſe for which they had aſſociated. In theſe circumſtances it was intimated, on the part of government, that if Mr. Bond would conſent to give to adminiſtration all the information of which he was poſſeſſed, relative to the late conſpiracy and rebellion, his ſentence might be commuted for that of baniſhment. This propoſition was nobly rejected by Bond, if his information or evidence ſhould endanger the life of any man with whom he was connected. The mercy of government was then extended to all the ſtate priſoners, including O'Connor, Emmett, and M'Nevin; who acceded to the terms offered, on condition they ſhould be at liberty voluntarily to tranſport themſelves to any country not at war with his majeſty, and that no further proſecution ſhould be carried on, except againſt actual murderers, or ſuch rebels as ſhould hereafter be taken in arms. A general amneſty, with a few exceptions, was ſoon after granted by the chief-governor, and confirmed in parliament. The ſyſtem of moderation and mercy adopted by this reſpectable nobleman was peculiarly ſeaſonable, and attended with the happieſt effects. Moſt of the rebel corps, who retreated

retreated to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow, took the benefit of the amneſty, and laid down their arms: thoſe who ſtill reſiſted were rather banditti, who confined themſelves to nocturnal depredations, than troops in arms againſt the government.

"Thus was the kingdom of Ireland once more reduced to peaceable ſubjection to the crown of Great Britain, and a dangerous rebellion cruſhed, which, had the government of the country been previouſly actuated by the beneficent ſpirit of the nobleman who now filled the higheſt office in it, would never have exiſted.—"To hinder inſurrection," ſays a great and juſtly-celebrated writer, "by driving away the people, and to govern peaceably by having no ſubjects, is an expedient that argues no great profundity in politics: to ſoften the obdurate, to convince the miſtaken, to mollify the reſentful, are worthy of a ſtateſman; but it affords a legiſlator little ſelf-applauſe to conſider that where there was formerly an inſurrection there is now a wilderneſs."

"Contrary to the general ſpirit of the now-prevailing ſyſtem, and contrary alſo, it is probable, to the private ſentiments of the good and worthy chief-governor, a bill was introduced into parliament, which, at a very late period of the ſummer, was ſtill ſitting, for the confiſcation and forfeiture of the eſtates of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Bagenal Harvey, and Cornelius Grogan, a man of large property, who had ſuffered in this rebellion,—and finally paſſed into an act. The caſe of the former, who had neither been tried nor convicted, was deemed peculiarly hard. The celebrated advocate Curran pleaded with great eloquence at the bar of the houſe againſt the bill of attainder. "Often have I, of late years," ſaid this great ornament of his profeſſion, "gone to the dungeon of the captive, but never yet to the grave of the deceaſed, to receive inſtructions for his defence: Never have I, till now, been called upon to plead at the trial of the

the dead! What might perhaps have admitted of eaſy explanation, during the life-time of the accuſed, muſt now be for ever buried with him in ſilence. The preſent bill convicts where proof is impoſſible, and puniſhes where guilt cannot exiſt: it confiſcates the property of the widow, and robs the orphan's cradle. A ſtate muſt be reduced to the loweſt degradation, when it is driven to ſeek protection in the abandonment of the law,—in that melancholy avowal of its weakneſs and its fears."

"It is remarkable, that for the ſpace of near three weeks of the month of June, during which the rebels were in poſſeſſion of Wexford, and their armies were in that part of the country maſters of the field, no ſupply of men, arms, ammunition, or ſtores of any kind, arrived from France, although the Directory had poſitively engaged that an armament ſhould ſail to their aſſiſtance at the latter end of April, or, at the fartheſt, early in the month of May; but when the inſurrection was completely quelled, and no proſpect of ſucceſs remained, a ſmall French ſquadron, part of a much larger force deſtined for the ſame ſervice, appeared on the coaſt of Connaught, and, on the 22d of Auguſt, caſt anchor in the bay of Killala, where the troops on board diſembarked; and the number not being aſcertained, a very great temporary alarm was excited. According to the very candid and intereſting Narrative publiſhed by the biſhop of Killala (Dr. Stock), the French troops, who were under the command of a general Humbert, ſecond in rank to general Hoche in the expedition of December, 1796, to Bantry-Bay, conducted themſelves with the moſt exemplary moderation. They were ſoon joined by ſeveral thouſands of the Iriſh peaſantry, all Catholics; and the French officers expreſſed the utmoſt chagrin and ſurpriſe that the Proteſtants continued, to a man, firm in their attachment to the government. The epiſcopal palace was made the head-quarters; and a green flag was mounted over the gate.

with the famous inſcription ;—" ERIN GO BRAGH !—Ireland for ever !"

" In a few days the invaders, to the number of 1100, leaving a ſmall garriſon at Killala, began their march, with the diſloyal natives whom they had clothed and armed, to Caſtlebar, the chief town of the county of Mayo. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the barbarous Iriſh could be reſtrained from acts of the moſt licentious diſorder. On the 27th general Humbert reached Caſtlebar, where general Lake was poſted, with a force far ſuperior, to intercept him; but, before the weakneſs of the enemy could be aſcertained, the Britiſh troops found themſelves attacked by ſurpriſe; and, after a reſiſtance not very vigorous, were compelled to retreat, with the loſs of 800 men and ten pieces of cannon. Caſtlebar immediately ſurrendered; and the French were ſtrengthened by many deſerters, chiefly from the different regiments of militia.

" Lord Cornwallis now determined to take the field in perſon, and, the general diſaffection of the country being known, to proceed with the utmoſt caution and vigilance, leaving nothing to chance or fortune. After the action at Caſtlebar the French had moved, with their whole force, towards Tuam; but the lord-lieutenant, having by this time collected a great army, with which he propoſed to incloſe them on all ſides, general Humbert was obliged to return; and, entertaining from the firſt no hope of ultimate ſucceſs, he made a circuitous march, in order to afford the natives an opportunity of eſcape, which the far greater number embraced. On the morning of the 8th of September, the vanguard of the Britiſh army came up with the rear of the French at Ballinamuck; and, after a ſhort but gallant reſiſtance, the French, being ſummoned to lay down their arms, ſurrendered at diſcretion; but the rebels who remained with them, fleeing in all directions, ſuffered very ſeverely.

When

When the return of the French priſoners was made, the public were ſurpriſed to find that this formidable hoſt amounted to no more, officers included, than the contemptible number of 844. The garriſon left at Killala could make no effectual reſiſtance to the force ſent againſt them; but the natives, in conjunction with the French troops, defended the place with great bravery; and it was at laſt taken ſword in hand. The behaviour of colonel Charoſt, who commanded at Killala, was marked throughout by valor tempered with honor and humanity. After the re-capture of the biſhop's palace, ſuch was the diſcipline preſerved, that not a ſingle article of private property was found miſſing. Even the ſide-board of plate remained untouched; and when the commandant was applied to, by a popiſh prieſt of ſome pretenſions to literature, for a preſent of books out of the biſhop's library, he replied with diſdain—"The biſhop's library is juſt as much his own now as ever it was."

"A ſecond attempt, equally abſurd and unaccountable, was made by the French in the following month; when a ſquadron from Breſt, conſiſting of one ſhip of the line, the Hoche of eighty guns, and eight frigates, were deſcried off the coaſt of Ulſter by admiral Sir John Borlaſe Warren, who commanded a ſquadron of far ſuperior force on that ſtation. At ſeven o'clock on the morning of the 12th of October the action commenced, and at eleven the Hoche, after a gallant defence, ſtruck her flag. Six of the frigates were alſo captured; and thus ended the projects of the French Directory for the conqueſt of Ireland.

"Amongſt the priſoners taken in the Hoche was the famous Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, and the moſt active and able of the agents employed by them abroad. He was brought to Dublin, and tried there by a court-martial. Far from attempting to deny or extenuate his offence, he avowed with the moſt heroic firmneſs

firmneſs the part he had acted, and gloried in the treaſon for which he was arraigned. "Into the ſervice of the French republic," ſaid this virtuous and high-minded, however miſtaken, patriot, "I originally entered with the view of ſerving my country. From that motive I have encountered the toils and terrors of the field of battle; I have braved the dangers of the ſea, covered with the triumphant fleets of the power I oppoſed; I have ſacrificed my proſpects in life; I have courted poverty; I have left my wife unprotected, and my children fatherleſs. After doing this, for what I thought a good cauſe, it is but little that I die for it. In ſuch a cauſe as this, ſucceſs is every thing. I have attempted that in which Waſhington ſucceeded and Koſciuſko failed. What awaits me I am aware of, but I ſcorn to ſupplicate or to complain. Whatever I have written, ſpoken, or acted, in relation to this country, and its connexion with Great Britain, which I conceived to be the bane of its proſperity, I here avow, and am now ready to meet the conſequence. Having ſuſtained an high rank in the French ſervice, I only wiſh, if the court poſſeſſes ſuch a diſcretionary power, that they will award me the death of a ſoldier."—After a long pauſe, no doubt of involuntary admiration and regret, he was informed that his requeſt would be ſubmitted to his Excellency. Finding, however, the little probability of ſucceeding in his application, he terminated his life in priſon by an act of violence. As this extraordinary man was the original author, his trial might be conſidered alſo as the laſt concluding ſcene, of this ſhort but bloody rebellion, in which, upon a moderate computation, more than twenty thouſand lives were loſt, and a great part of the kingdom exhibited a horrid ſpectacle of miſery and deſolation. Such are the direful conſequences of civil diſcord! and ſuch the deplorable effects reſulting from the want in government of that ſublime part of wiſdom neceſſary for the conduct of great affairs!"—Thus far Mr. *Belſham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

Observations.—Declarations of the principles of the society of Orange-men.—Address from the Roman-Catholic Nobility &c. to Lord Camden.—His Excellency's answer.—Address of the Roman Catholicks to Lord Cornwallis.—His answer.—Remonstrance from the Roman Catholic nobility and Clergy, to the lower orders of that communion.—Letter from Lord Pelham to Doctor Troy.—Trials of messrs. Shears.—Mc. Can.—Byrne, and Bond.

MUCH of the atrocities committed by the insurgents during this rebellion are by some said to have been excited by the oppression and injuries they experienced from that description of persons distinguished by the name of Orange-men.—Certain it is, that tho' the rebellion itself originated in political principle, it was afterward heightened and inflamed by religious differences, and hereupon Roman Catholics and Orange-men mutually accused each other. Whether the conduct of the latter was in every instance conformable to the declared design of their institution, may be easily conjectured; the following however, were the principles they *avowed*.

"*To the Loyal Subjects of Ireland.*"

"From the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the laws,

We

" We, the Proteſtants of Dublin, aſſuming the name of Orange Men, feel ourſelves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the ſhafts of malevolence and diſaffection, but openly to avow thoſe principles, and declare to the world the objects of our inſtit ution.

" We have long obſerved with indignation the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom, by the ſeditious who have formed themſelves into ſocieties, under the ſpecious name of United Iriſhmen.

" We have ſeen with pain the lower orders of our fellow ſubjects, forced or ſeduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

" And, we have viewed with horror the ſucceſsful exertions of miſcreants, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of riſing into conſequence on the downfall of their country.

" We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Conſtitution, and there pledge ourſelves to each other to maintain the laws, and ſupport our good King againſt all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or their country, and by ſo doing, ſhew to the world that there is a body of men in this iſland, who are ready in the hour of danger, to ſtand forward in defence of that grand Palladium of our liberties, the Conſtitution of Great-Britain and Ireland, obtained and eſtabliſhed by the courage and loyalty of our anceſtors under the great King William.

" Fellow ſubjects! we are accuſed with being an inſtitution, founded on principles too ſhocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would ſhudder; but we caution you not to be led away by ſuch malevolent falſehoods, for we ſolemnly aſſure you in the preſence of the Almighty

Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our hearts: we regard every loyal ſubject, as our friend, be his religion what it may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our country.

'We further declare that we are ready at all times to ſubmit ourſelves to the orders of thoſe in authority under his Majeſty, and that we will chearfully undertake any duty which they ſhall think proper to point out for us, in caſe either a foreign enemy ſhall dare to invade our coaſts, or that a domeſtic foe ſhall preſume to raiſe the ſtandard of rebellion in the land. To theſe principles we are pledged, and in ſupport of them we are ready to ſhed the laſt drop of our blood."

THOMAS VERNER,
EDWARD BALL,
JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
WILLIAM JAMES,
ISAAC DE JONCOURT,

The following Addreſs of the Roman Catholics of Ireland was preſented to his Excellency Earl Camden, on Wedneſday May 30th, 1798; by Lords Fingal, Gormanſtown, Southwell, Kenmare, &c. &c. &c.

"*May it pleaſe your Excellency,*

We the underſigned, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, Roman Catholics of Ireland, think it neceſſary at this moment publicly to declare our firm attachment to his Majeſty's royal perſon, and to the Conſtitution under which we have the happineſs to live. We feel, in common with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, the danger to which both are expoſed from an implacable and enterpriſing enemy, menacing invaſion from abroad, and from the machinations of evil and diſaffected men conſpiring Treaſon within this his Majeſty's kingdom. Under theſe impreſſions, we deem

it

it neceſſary to remove, by an open and explicit declaration, every idea of countenance afforded on our part to a conduct bearing even the appearance of indifference or indeciſion, much more to a conduct holding forth ſymptoms of diſaffection and hoſtility to the eſtabliſhed order of government in this kingdom; in the preſervation of which, though we differ from it in ſome points of ſpiritual concern, we feel too deeply intereſted to look with an indifferent eye at it's overthrow.

Allow us then to aſſure your Excellency, that we contemplate with horror the evils of every deſcription, which the conduct of the French Republic has produced on every nation hitherto weak enough to be deluded by its promiſes of liberty and offers of fraternity. We anticipate ſimilar misfortunes as awaiting this his Majeſty's kingdom in the deprecated event of ſucceſsful invaſion. With confidence we ſtate our determination not to be outdone by any deſcription of our fellow ſubjects in zealous endeavours for averting that calamity; and that although anxious to enjoy, free of every reſtriction, the full benefit of our Conſtitution, we reject with indignation any idea of removing the reſtrictions under which we ſtill labour, by means of foreign invaſion, or by any other ſtep inconſiſtent with the known laws of the land. We prefer, without heſitation, our preſent ſtate to any alteration thus obtained. And with gratitude to the beſt of kings, and to an enlightened legiſlature, we acknowledge ſuch a ſhare of political liberty and advantage already in our poſſeſſion, as leaves us nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to induce us to look elſewhere than to the tried benignity of our Sovereign, and the unbiaſſed determination of the legiſlature, as the ſource of future advantage.

We cannot avoid expreſſing to your Excellency our regret at ſeeing, amidſt the general deluſion, many (particularly

cularly of the lower orders) of our religious perſuaſion engaged in unlawful aſſociations and practices; yet we truſt that your Excellency's diſcernment will lead you to make every juſt allowance for the facility with which men, open to deluſion from their ſituation in life, are led aſtray from political duty: It ſhall be our endeavour to recall ſuch men to a ſenſe of that duty, by pointing out to them, how inconſiſtent their conduct is with their real intereſts, and how contrary to the maxims of the religion which they profeſs; nor ſhall we leſs endeavour by our conduct, to convince all deſcriptions of our fellow-ſubjects how much we are impreſſed with the neceſſity of laying aſide all conſideration of religious diſtinction, and joining in one common effort for the preſervation of our Conſtitution, of ſocial order and of the Chriſtian religion, againſt a nation, whoſe avowed principles aim at the deſtruction of them all.

We requeſt your Excellency will make theſe our ſentiments known to his Majeſty; and we rely with unfeigned confidence on your Excellency's acknowledged candour and generoſity, that you will repreſent us in that light, to which we venture to hope our conduct and principles have given us a juſt claim.

His Excellency's Anſwer.

"It gives me great ſatisfaction to receive the addreſs you have preſented to me; and I ſhall not fail to repreſent to his Majeſty the ſentiments of gratitude it conveys, for the various advantages you have received from his Majeſty's benignity.

"I receive with pleaſure your declaration of the neceſſity of laying aſide all conſideration of religious diſtinction, and joining in one common effort for the preſervation of our Conſtitution and of ſocial order. I cannot too ſtrongly impreſs this ſentiment on your minds; the events of every hour

hour muſt urge the neceſſity of it; and the example which has been ſhewn by thoſe who have had opportunities of diſplaying their loyalty and valour, cannot but animate us all to a like exertion, wherever we may be called upon to make it."

The following Addreſs was preſented to his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis by the Earl of Fingal, Viſcounts Gormanſton, Southwell, and Kenmare, the Reverend Dr. Troy, Hon. Mr. Barnewall, Denis Thomas O'Brien, Hugh Hamill, and George Goold, Eſqrs. and ſigned by great numbers of principal Roman Catholics of Dublin, and of other parts of the Kingdom:

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

"We, the undersigned Roman Catholics, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, beg leave to approach your Excellency with our warmeſt congratulations on your Excellency's appointment to the Government of this kingdom.

Firmly attached to his Majeſty's perſon and family, and to the principles of our excellent Conſtitution, we cannot omit this opportunity of expreſſing to your Excellency our deep concern and regret at ſeeing in this kingdom the exiſtence of a rebellion, threatening the deſtruction of each. We beg leave to aſſure your Excellency, that we are determined to ſpare no exertion in our power for ſtopping its progreſs—and that, however our religious tenets may prevent us from ſubſcribing ſome of the teſts, which, by the preſent exiſting laws, are required as qualifications in certain inſtances—yet none of thoſe tenets militate againſt the principles of our happy Conſtitution: Our religious principles lead us to reſiſt all rebellious conduct, as well as every ſpecies of turbulence and inſubordination: and our individual attachment to his Majeſty and the conſtitution further invites

us

us to ſuch reſiſtance ; by theſe principles, your Excellency will find our conduct ever guided, and led by them to a zealous co-operation with all others of his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects. We anticipate with confidence, under the direction of your Excellency's acknowledged military and political talents, a ſpeedy termination of the preſent unhappy ſtate of this his Majeſty's kingdom, and an early reſtoration of internal peace and tranquillity.

The Lord Lieutenant's Anſwer.

"I have the higheſt ſatisfaction in receiving your Addreſs. The loyalty of the principles you profeſs will, I doubt not, be fully evinced by your public and effectual exertions. The preſent unhappy conjuncture calls equally upon men of all religious perſuaſions to mark their attachment to their Sovereign and our excellent Conſtitution, by counteracting the ſpirit of anarchy and rebellion which has diſgraced the country. The influence of your example and authority may be of eſſential ſervice, and you may be aſſured of my determination to do juſtice to your efforts in repreſſing every ſpecies of turbulence and inſubordination."

The following Addreſs, ſigned by the Nobility, Gentry, and principal Roman Catholic Clergy to thoſe of their perſuaſion, was diſtributed throughout the Country.

"The underſigned Rom. Catholics of Ireland, feel themſelves earneſtly called on, to remonſtrate with ſuch of the deluded people of that perſuaſion, as are now engaged in open rebellion againſt his Majeſty's government, on the wicked tendency and conſequences of the conduct which they have embraced. They apprehend, with equal horror and concern, that ſuch deluded men, in addition to the crime committed againſt the allegiance which they owe to his Majeſty, have in ſome inſtances attempted to give to their

their designs a colour of zeal for the religion which they profess! The undersigned profess equally with them the Roman Catholic religion; some of them are bishops of that persuasion; others are heads of the leading families who profess that religion; and others are men of the same persuasion, who, by an honourable industry have, under the constitution now sought to be subverted, raised themselves to a situation which affords them, in the most extensive sense, all the comforts of life. The undersigned of each description concur in entreating such of the deluded, who have taken up arms against the established government, or entered into engagements tending to that effect, to return to their allegiance: and by relinquishing the treasonable plans in which they are engaged, to entitle themselves to that mercy which their lawful governors anxiously wish to extend to them: a contrary conduct will inevitably subject them to loss of life and property, and expose their families to ignominy and beggary; whilst at the same time, it will throw on the religion, of which they profess to be the advocates, the most indelible stain; on this point, the unfortunately deluded will do well to consider, whether the true interests and honour of the Roman Catholic religion are likely to be most considered by the bishops of that persuasion, by the ancient families who profess that religion, and who have resisted every temptation to relinquish it, by men who, at once professing it, and submitting to the present constitution, have arrived at a state of affluence which gratifies every wish; or by a set of desperate and profligate men, availing themselves of the want of education and experience in those whom they seek to use as instruments for gratifying their own wicked and interested views: At all events, the undersigned feel themselves bound to rescue their names, and as far as in them lies, the religion which they profess, from the ignominy which each would incur from an appearance of acquiescence in such criminal and irreligious conduct, and they hesitate not to declare, that the accomplishment

accompliſhment of the views of the deluded of their perſuaſion, if effected, muſt be effected by the downfall of the clergy, of the ancient families, and reſpectable commercial men of the Roman Catholic religion."

The following Letter was written by Mr. Secretary Pelham (now Lord Pelham) to the Revd. Dr. Troy, which we inſert as an additional teſtimony of the Doctor's loyalty, and his zeal to ſuppreſs amongſt his Flock thoſe pernicious principles which gave riſe to anarchy and rebellion.

Phœnix Park, *Aug.* 13*th* 1799.

"DEAR SIR,

"As I may not have the pleaſure of ſeeing you before I go to England I muſt take this mode of expreſſing to you the ſatisfaction I received upon reading your Addreſs to the Roman Catholic Clergy of the dioceſs of Dublin.

"You have exhibited the character of a chriſtian paſtor in its true and moſt amiable light, inſtructing the ignorant, cautioning the unwary, and undeceiving the deluded; you have ſhewn that, whatever differences the weakneſs of human nature may have created in religious tenets, Chriſtians are united in the common cauſe of promoting the happineſs of mankind, and glorifying their great Maſter and Parent by encouraging and preaching virtue. And that however men may be divided by political obſtructions, the evil-diſpoſed of all deſcriptions are friends to order and morality; and have a common intereſt in reſiſting thoſe diſturbers of the public peace, who are always ready to make particular tenets, the object or the means of deſtroying all order and religion, and conſequently all happineſs in the world.

"The Lord Lieutenant is not leſs gratified than myſelf, and when reading the Addreſs expreſſed himſelf in terms of the warmeſt approbation.

"I could

"I could not help troubling you with this ſhort effuſion from a heart warmed with every thing that tends to promote the happineſs of his country, and expreſſing my hopes that the example ſo honorably exhibited by you will be followed by others and produce the effect you intend."

Dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient

Rev. Dr. Troy, &c. Humble ſervant,

PELHAM.

The following ſtatement of ſome of the principal Trials which took place in conſequence of this Rebellion, will furniſh the reader with more minute particulars as to ſome of the principal parties.

SPECIAL COMMISSION.

Trial of Henry & John Sheares, Thur. July, 12, 1798.

The court having met, according to adjournment, Lord Carleton, Baron Smith, and Juſtices Crookſhank and Day, preſiding,—

Henry and John Sheares, Eſqrs. were put to the bar, when, after twenty-eight challenges on the part of the priſoners, and eleven on that of the crown, a jury was ſworn, compoſed of the following perſons, viz :

Sir T. Lighton,	*G. Palmer,*	*C. Gautier,*
R. Shaw,	*H. Woodward,*	*W. Sparrow,*
P. Blackwood,	*R. Seyers,*	*C. Bingham,* and
J. Stewart,	*J. Farrange,*	*J. Ferns, Eſqrs.*

The indictment was then read, which ſtated in ſubſtance two counts againſt the priſoners; compaſsing the king's death, and adhering to the king's enemies; and to ſupport theſe, a great many overt acts were recited, the principal of which were an attempt to ſeduce John Warnford Armſtrong,

ſtrong, Eſq; a captain in the King's co. militia, from his allegiance, and to make him the inſtrument of corrupting to the purpoſes of rebellion, the ſoldiery of his regiment; conſpiring with the ſaid John Warnford Armſtrong how beſt to get poſſeſſion of Lehaunſtown camp, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the Caſtle of Dublin; and their having in their poſſeſſion a written proclamation, anticipating the event of a rebellion, and calculated by them to incite the people to give force and vigour to that rebellion, and to join the tri-coloured flag, to be diſplayed on the caſtle of Dublin. Theſe ſeveral overt acts were all laid in the indictment within the month of May preceding, from the 10th to the 21ſt.

The caſe having been opened by Counſellor Webber,

The Right Hon. the Attorney General (Mr. Toler,*) proceeded to the ſtatement as follows:

"My Lords, and gentlemen of the Jury, in the new and reſponſible ſituation which I have now the honour to fill in this court, I truſt it will be eaſily credited, that it grieves me moſt heartily that the firſt act of that ſituation ſhould be the proſecution of two gentlemen belonging to a profeſſion to which I am linked by every tie of honour, affection, and regard, binding on a man of honour; but my lords, a duty has devolved on me too cogent to be loſt in any circumſtances of private feeling; that duty is to ſupport the mutual obligations between the people and the ſtate, and to preſerve to the public that protection which is the birthright of every good ſubject, purchaſed with his allegiace. In this neceſſary preparative to the introduction of evidence, I ſhall be ſtudiouſly careful not to dilate the ſubject into an unneceſſary length; my caſe does not require it; nor ſhould I be warranted in embarraſſing your Lordſhips and the gentlemen of the Jury with abſtract and metaphyſical diſtinctions, or diſtorted arguments; nor indeed, my Lords, is it my

* Now Lord Norbury.

my inclination to add wanton aggravations to a caſe which, if I am rightly inſtructed, will go to criminate the unhappy gentlemen at the bar, on evidence as plain and clear as ever has been brought forward in a court of juſtice; and I hope to be accredited when I ſay, that no man who bears me this day, not the moſt warm and zealous friends of the accuſed, will feel more pleaſure, will rejoice more ſincerely, if the event of this trial ſhall eſtabliſh their innocence, now obſcured by the fouleſt and moſt deſtructive crimes that a wicked ambition can engender in ſociety.

Gentlemen of the jury, the preſent indictment is founded on the 25th of Edward III. a ſtatute remaining unaltered from that time down to the preſent period, and which defines the crime of high treaſon, and according to this ſtatute there are three ſpecies of high treaſon, namely, compaſſing and imagining the death of the king, adhering to the king's enemies, and levying war againſt the king within the realm.

In the preſent caſe, the counts of the indictment are two, the overt acts are ſeveral. The firſt of theſe counts is compaſſing and imagining the king's death; the ſecond, that of adhering to the king's enemies. That your lordſhips and the gentlemen of the jury can be no ſtrangers to theſe ſpecies of treaſon is moſt certain, for alas! there have been unfortunately of late, but too many practical illuſtrations of them in this country; I will, however, treſpaſs a little on your time, by ſtating the law on theſe points.—In order to ſupport the general counts in an indictment it is neceſſary to prove the commiſſion of overt acts, to bring home the imputed guilt to the accuſed party. The compaſſing and imagining the death of the king, by our laws and adjudged caſes, as ſoon as that imagination is acted upon by open deeds, make the crime complete. The facts demonſtrative of the general deſign, or charges muſt be kept in view, and the

the next principle to lay down is, that the acts ſhould be of a nature to manifeſt the intention with a clearneſs and ſtrength of application ſufficient fully to ſatisfy the minds and conſciences of honeſt men.

You have heard, gentlemen of the jury, the indictment, and without delaying you by a repetition of what it has ſet forth, you muſt be ſenſible, that if the whole, or any part of the overt acts laid therein are proved, they muſt be demonſtrative of the intent. If my inſtructions are right, it will appear that a conſpiracy was entered into by the priſoners to procure levies of men and arms for the purpoſe of depoſing the king, to overthrow the government and monarchy, thereby opening a way to thoſe ſcenes of blood and devaſtation which have always been known to walk hand in hand with revolution. That ſuch is now partly the ſituation of this country, is a matter of too much notoriety to require a particular detail or comment. It is matter of equal notoriety, that we are now at open war with the perſons exerciſing the powers of government in France, and that ſince the commencement of that war there has been a dark conſpiracy in this country to ſubſtitute a ſyſtem (if the term can be applied to an anarchical object) modelled on French principles, for the beſt and happieſt government that ever people were bleſſed with. Inſtead of the ineſtimable bleſſings of peace, order, and the ſalutary reſtraints of wiſe and protecting laws, the object of theſe machinations was to launch us on a chaotic ocean of wild and jarring elements, and tho' it muſt be uncertain, and the chance deſperate, who would ride on the whirlwind and direct the ſtorm, yet there was no doubt that horrid and indiſcriminate maſſacre and plunder muſt enſue. Scenes of ſummary vengeance and partial trial would follow, very different from the great advantages and mild indulgence which the gentlemen at the bar have experienced, and glad am I that their's are theſe advantages. The law preſcribes, that the

perſons coming under its adjuration, ſhall be ſerved with a copy of his indictment and the means by which it is to be ſupported, a certain number of days previous to trial. This advantage has been experienced by the priſoners in more than a double portion; they have had full and accurate notice of the papers and facts to be adduced. They are to be aſſiſted by counſel great and eminent, and are themſelves men of talents and learning; would to God! they had not employed thoſe diſtinguiſhing and honourable qualities to miſchievous purpoſes, but that they had employed them in that path of virtuous and profeſſional emulation, which muſt naturally have held to their hopes the faireſt and moſt flattering promiſe of ſucceſs! The gentlemen at the bar are not ſuch as we meet with on circuits, low and unlettered men, unacquainted with the law and the conſequences of it. No! their minds are illuminated by learning and ſcience, and their acting upon the darkeſt principles of criminality and vice muſt excite a proportionable degree of our aſto-aſtoniſhment. If, by the law of the land a man pays the forfeiture of his life for the commiſſion of a ſingle murder, how much more ſhould he incur that forfeiture, who deliberately cauſes the deſtruction of thouſands! I know, Gentlemen, the painful duty devolving on all who are in this caſe aſſiſting to the ends of public juſtice: I know how painful it muſt be to the court: I know how painful it muſt be to the jury; and give me leave to ſay, not trifling is the pain which falls to the lot of the public accuſer. It lies heavy on my heart to be obliged to utter what may be grating to the feelings of the accuſed; but I am obliged to do it, obliged by thoſe duties, the performance of which can alone render me worthy to fill a ſituation which claims on me with double power; its own importance, and the virtues and talents of my predeceſſor. Where ſhould I look for an argument in favour of a falſe delicacy? Is it in the devaſtation of the land? Is it in the wicked and deſtructive conſpiracy, treaſons, and ſeductions laid in the indictment?

Is

Is it in the objects and acts of United Iriſhmen? I ſhall not waſte time in entering into the hiſtory of this body of men. In the courſe of this trial, facts ſhall ſpeak emphatically for them. While yet the French revolution thundered at a diſtance, United Iriſhmen effected an early importation of French principles, and characteriſtically improved on the novel manufacture—"plague, peſtilence, and famine" has been brought to the perfection of—"battle, murder, and ſudden death."

Gentlemen of the Jury, it will appear that the evidence in this caſe is of two kinds, parole and written. It will appear that the priſoners held an intercourſe at the ſhop of a bookſeller of this town, now in priſon, and which was a convenient medium to bring together men of a certain deſcription. It will appear that a man of no leſs note than an officer in his Majeſty's army, a captain Armſtrong, reſorted often to the ſhop of Patrick Byrne, where, as well as at many other ſhops, a certain deſcription of modern publications are ſold, which captivate but too much many men whoſe time and talents could be more beneficially employed to ſociety. The intercourſe between Mr. Byrne and Captain Armſtrong becoming familiar and friendly, Mr. Byrne was led to conclude he was one of thoſe deeply embarked in the ſame objects and views of thoſe with whom he converſed. "Sir," ſaid the pamphlet dealer, "I could wiſh a gentleman of your enlightened principles would allow me to introduce you to ſome gentlemen who would be happy to cultivate your acquaintance—I mean the Mr. Sheares's, men who are deeply engaged in the common cauſe; and as you can render material ſervices, you will be a valuable acquiſition to their ſtock of friends." Mr. Armſtrong was not ſo ignorant as not to form a concluſion of what this converſation led to, and that if he laid himſelf open to further confidence, it might ſubject him to information, which no honeſt man and loyal ſubject could conceal. He therefore

told

told the circumſtance to a brother officer, and aſked his advice what to do, adding, "Why ſhould he ſelect me?" His friend obſerved that converſations had gone abroad, injurious to his regiment, the King's county militia, and by all means to accept the propoſed introduction, if from no other motive but the chance of arriving at ſome circumſtances that might reſcue the regiment from the imputations caſt againſt it; and, ſaid his friend, in the language and diſtinctions which real truth and honour will always inſpire, as to any difficulty you may labour under from the idea of being deemed an informer, diſcard the injurious prejudice, for no act can be more worthy a gentleman and man of honour, or more conformable to both, than to ſecure the State and the People from the machinations of treaſon—a falſe delicacy on ſuch an occaſion would make you one of the fouleſt abetters of the evils which you may, but will not prevent.

Captain Armſtrong previous to his being ſworn, was aſked by Mr. Curran, Counſel for one of the priſoners, [Henry Sheares] whether he believed in the exiſtence of a God, and in a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments? He replied, that he did.

Being ſworn, and examined by Mr. Saurin, he depoſed, that he is a Captain in the King's County Militia, and knows the priſoners at the bar, (whom he identified)—that he firſt became acquainted with them on Thurſday the 10th of May laſt.—*(Here he took out notes, which he ſaid were taken on the occaſion in his own hand-writing)*—That he came on that day to town from the Camp at Lehaunſtown, where his company was quartered, and went to the ſhop of Patrick Byrne, a Bookſeller in Grafton-ſtreet, who asked him, after following him outſide the ſtreet-door from the ſhop, if he had any objection to meet and be introduced to the Mr. Sheares' the lawyers? Witneſs replied, he had not. Was acquainted

acquainted with Byrne for two years, as a bookſeller, whoſe ſhop he much frequented; being in the habit of going there nearly every day, and purchaſing every political pamphlet that came out, as well as other books. Did not know the reaſon of Byrne's hinting ſuch introduction to him; but went to look for Captain Clibborn, of his regiment, and his friend, to conſult with him on the propriety of this introduction. This was before he ſaw the priſoners at the bar. He accordingly ſaw Captain Clibborn, and as he purpoſed, did conſult with him about the matter propoſed by Byrne. Captain Clibborn, in conſequence, adviſed him to meet them, on which he returned to Byrne's ſhop, where he waited until the elder Mr. Sheares (Henry) arrived, according to intimation from Byrne, that they would meet. They accordingly did meet, and Byrne introduced them to each other by mentioning his (the witneſs's) name to Mr. Sheares, and told both, if they wiſhed to converſe together, they might retire into a room at the rere of the back ſhop. Byrne here addreſſed Mr. Sheares in theſe words, "Captain Armſtrong is a true brother and you may depend on him." Mr. Sheares then expreſſed a wiſh to poſtpone their converſation until his brother arrived, to which the witneſs aſſented. The brother ſhortly after arrived, to whom he was introduced nearly in the ſame manner as to Henry. The brothers were not together at either interview, Henry at the latter having gone away.—*(Here the witneſs mentioned that he took a ſheet of notes of the converſations at each ſubſequent interview, which he communicated to Captain Clibborn, to his Colonel, L'Eſtrange, and frequently to Lord Caſtlereagh.)*—John Sheares, at this interview, mentioned to the witneſs that he was emboldened by the knowledge of his principles, and for the good of the cauſe, to make himſelf known to him, and ſhew him how their cauſe might be eſſentially benefited by his (the witneſs) joining it as ardently in action, as he did in inclination. Witneſs replied, that he was ready to do every thing in his power to forward their cauſe,

if

if he (the priſoner) would but mention how he could be ſerviceable. The priſoner then told him that a riſing of the people was near; that they could not now wait for the French, but were determined on their own exertions; that the particular manner in which witneſs could be ſerviceable was by bringing his ſoldiers with himſelf over to the cauſe, to adviſe on the beſt means of ſeizing the camp at Lehaunſtown: and the more effectually to bring over the ſoldiers, the priſoner adviſed him to practiſe on the privates and non-commiſſioned officers of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, being thoſe moſt likely to be perſuaded into an opinion that they were aggrieved. Does not recollect any more of the converſation of that day, except an appointment to meet on the following Sunday; on which day he went to the priſoner's houſe at Baggot-ſtreet, where the elder of the brothers only was at home: and a repetition of part of the converſation held on the laſt interview with John occurred then with his brother Henry; who told him that he underſtood his brother and he on the former day had a converſation, apologiſed for not being preſent, as he was obliged to attend a committee of gentlemen who were then ſitting. He aſked him as to the ſtate of the regiment—the ſituation of the camp—the number of troops, and where they were moſt vulnerable; aſked him as to the poſſibility of taking it by ſtorm, or by treachery, uſing the counterſign; recollects nothing more until John Sheares arrived, who aſked him, in the preſence of his brother, if he knew any United Iriſhmen? ſaid that he, the witneſs, could make good men of the ſoldiers; witneſs replied, he ſhould be afraid to commit himſelf until he knew their diſpoſitions, and would then endeavour all he could to accompliſh their project. John remarked, that he believed he could inform him of ſome men well-diſpoſed; and told him it was their intention to ſeize the camp, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the city of Dublin in one night; that it was appointed there ſhould be an hour and an half between ſeizing the camp and the artillery; and

and the city an hour after the latter place ; that the news of the former being in their poſſeſſion ſhould arrive in Dublin previous to the attack. He then told the witneſs, if he would meet him at 11 o'clock that night, he would give him a liſt of ſuch men of his regiment as might be induced to come over. Witneſs accordingly attended at 11, but was told by John Sheares, that he could not procure the names of the men he promiſed him in the morning, but that a man would call on him the next day for a paſs to the camp, with whom he might converſe without reſerve, witneſs having regularly returned after each interview to the camp, and communicating the reſult to Colonel L'Eſtrange. On the Wedneſday following the Colonel expreſſed his ſurprize that no man called on him, recommending it to him to come to town and find out the reaſon. Witneſs called on Wednelday as uſual at Baggot-ſtreet ; did not find the priſoners at home, and left word he would call in the evening between five and ſix o'clock ; met the priſoners at home at the hour, and was ſhewn into the library. John Sheares told him the riſing was then very near, and that he wiſhed to introduce him to a gentleman with whom he might conſult in his abſence, as he ſhould be obliged to go to organize Cork. Said he had not been able to procure the names he promiſed him, but that matters would be ſo ordered that the news of a riſing at Cork ſhould reach Dublin at a critical time, and that he was waiting for the Executive to fix a day.

Q. by the Jury—What do you mean by the word Executive ?—A. I underſtand an Executive Directory ſitting in Dublin.

John Sheares then appointed witneſs to meet him next day, to introduce him to the gentleman he mentioned to him. Witneſs went accordingly on Thurſday the 17th of May, and met both brothers at the ſame houſe, but does not

not recollect any thing of moment paſſing until the gentleman arrived, when he was introduced to a Mr. Lawleſs, a relation of Lord Cloncurry's, who told him he had been at a meeting ſome time before, compoſed of deputies from almoſt all the militia regiments in Ireland, at which he told witneſs there were two from his regiment—could not then recollect their names, but would procure their names and leave them with Mr. Sheares for him—he could get them from a man who had been very active in making United Iriſhmen, who had made ſome in every regiment that had been quartered in Dublin for two years back. At this interview the elder Sheares told him that all their corps were completely organized, and had their captains and adjutants appointed; called that evening to get the names which Mr. Lawleſs promiſed to procure; was ſhewn into the library where John Sheares was in converſation with ſome man—when witneſs was going away, he (John Sheares) gave him a note of introduction to a ſerjeant Connor, of his regiment, informing Connor, that he (the witneſs) might be depended on. Mr. Lawleſs amongſt other things remarked, that the trees at Lehaunſtown camp would be extremely convenient for hanging people who did not join them.

Witneſs being aſked as to the nature of the duty to which he was appointed? replied, he was to have erected a ſtandard, which was to be joined by all thoſe who were previouſly known to be United Iriſhmen, none elſe being allowed the option of joining in the attack.

John Sheares gave him the name of Patrick Linnan, a private in the regiment. An appointment was then made for the Sunday following, when witneſs was to have been introduced to more friends. On Friday he could not meet with ſerjeant Connor, to whom he had the note of introduction, but met him on Saturday; delivered the note to Connor, and aſked him if he knew the men named in it;

believes

believes Connor to be now in confinement; called on Sunday to Baggot-ſtreet, found the elder Mr. Sheares at home, to whom he communicated that ſerjeant Connor ſaid, he did not know the man mentioned in the note of introduction, at which Sheares expreſſed his ſurpriſe. Here Henry Sheares told witneſs to be extremely cautious, for that his brother and he eſcaped ſuſpicion by their caution, government believing them to be inactive. The younger Sheares then drew a letter from his pocket, on which the names of three of his regiment appeared to have been written, told him they were men on whom he might depend: alſo told him that he had on that called at Lawleſs's, who he believed had abſconded. He then told witneſs that a man had been all day looking for him at the camp, and that the Directory had come to a reſolution to give him the command of the regiment to which he belonged; and that he might inform every ſoldier diſpoſed to join them, that he ſhould get a portion of land in the King's county; and that it was alſo reſolved on to ſeize on the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council at their reſpective places; that when the Privy Council were all ſeized, there would be no place to iſſue orders from; that in caſe of the failure of the attack on the camp, there were a ſufficient number of houſes in Baggot-ſtreet friendly to their cauſe, from whence the military on their return to town might be fired on; that it was expected from various accounts that all the militia regiments in Ireland would join their cauſe, as there were ten in one regiment, an hundred in another, and three in another, all well-diſpoſed; but they ſhould get proper notice; that they were extremely impatient, and threatened if the riſing was not ſpeedy, to lay down their arms, and take the oath of allegiance. The elder Sheares told him that a former ſervant of his was inconceivably active in making United Iriſhmen.

Witneſs

Witneſs ſaid, that although directed not to leave Dublin with his regiment, he had volunteered in the Londonderry regiment to fight the rebels at Wexford, where he was wounded.

John Sheares was made a priſoner the morning after the laſt converſation with witneſs, who ſaw him in cuſtody at the Caſtle, where the priſoner asked him if his brother was taken? Witneſs replied he did not know. Aſked him then, if he knew that their papers were taken, and ſaid that he hoped not, as there was one which might commit him.

In the courſe of a long croſs-examination by Mr. Curran, it came out that the witneſs on his return from Wexford with a party, met three peaſants, with green cockades, on the road—that one was flogged to extort confeſſions from him until he gave material information as to the poſition of the rebels; another was hanged, and a third was ſhot, but without the witneſs's act or advice. Being interrogated whether he ever in company denied the exiſtence of a Supreme Being and a ſtate of future rewards and puniſhments, he replied in the negative; acknowledged he was free in his political opinions, and did not ſcruple to cenſure the meaſures of Government, but denied that he had ever ſaid he would conſider it laudable to be the King's executioner himſelf, if no one elſe would undertake it.

Captain Clibborn of the King's county militia, corroborated that part of Captain Armſtrong's teſtimony which referred to him.

A. Kearney proved that he met John Sheares at a meeting of United Iriſhmen in Werburgh-ſtreet, where accounts of men and arms were inveſtigating, and where it appeared by an indorſement on a paper in his poſſeſſion, that

that there were 8100 men, a great part ſuppoſed to be organized and armed, from different diſtricts in the county of Dublin in their cauſe.

Alderman Alexander depoſed, that having been ſent to the priſoners' houſe to ſeize them and their papers, he found the following proclamation or manifeſto, in Mr. Sheares' houſe in a ſmall writing box in the ſtreet parlour.

"Iriſhmen! Your country is free. and you are about to be avenged. That vile government which has ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſſed you, is no more! Some of its moſt atrocious monſters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the reſt are in our hands. The national flag—the ſacred green, is at this moment flying over the ruins of deſpotiſm; and that capital, which a few hours paſt had witneſſed the debauchery, the plots and crimes of your tyrants, is now the citadel of triumphant patriotiſm and virtue! Ariſe, then, united ſons of Ireland: ariſe like a great and powerful people, determined to live free, or die. Arm yourſelves by every means in your power, and ruſh like lions on your foes. Conſider that for every enemy you diſarm, you arm a friend, and thus become double powerful. In the cauſe of liberty inaction is cowardice, and the coward ſhall forfeit the property he has not the courage to protect; let his arms be ſeized and transferred to thoſe gallant ſpirits who want and will uſe them. Yes Iriſhmen! we ſwear by that Eternal Juſtice in whoſe cauſe you fight, that the brave patriot who ſurvives the preſent glorious ſtruggle, and the family of him who has fallen, or ſhall fall hereafter in it, ſhall receive from the hands of a grateful nation an ample recompence out of that property, which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands, and his name ſhall be inſcribed on the great national record of Iriſh revolution, as a glorious example to all poſterity; but we likewiſe ſwear to puniſh robbers with death and infamy.

We

We alſo ſwear that we will never ſheath the ſword until every being in the country is reſtored to thoſe equal rights which the God of nature has given to all men, until an order of things ſhall be eſtabliſhed in which no ſuperiority ſhall be acknowledged among the citizens of *Erin*, but that of virtue and talent.

"Rouſe all the energies of your ſouls, call forth all the merit and abilities which a vicious Government conſigned to obſcurity; and under the conduct of your choſen leaders, march with a ſteady ſtep to victory. Heed not the glare of a hired ſoldiery or ariſtocratic yeomanry; they cannot ſtand the vigorous ſhock of freemen; their trappings and their arms will ſoon be yours; and the deteſted Government of England, to which we vow eternal hatred, ſhall learn that the treaſures it exhauſts on its accoutred ſlaves for the purpoſe of butchering Iriſhmen, ſhall but further enable us to turn their ſwords on its devoted head.

"Many of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their breaſts, and have already joined the national ſtandard. Receive with open arms ſuch as ſhall follow ſo glorious an example; they can render ſignal ſervice to the cauſe of freedom, and ſhall be rewarded according to their deſerts. But for the wretch who turns his ſword againſt his native country, let the national vengeance be viſited on him: let him find no quarters.

"Two other crimes demand * * * *

* * * * * * * * *

"Attack them in every direction by day and by night.—Avail yourſelves of the natural advantages of your country, which are innumerable, and with which you are better acquainted than they. Where you cannot oppoſe them in full force, conſtantly harraſs their rere and their flanks, cut off their proviſions and magazines, and prevent them as much as poſſible from uniting their forces. Let whatever moment

moment you cannot devote to fighting for your country be paſſed in learning how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war; for war, war alone muſt occupy every mind and every hand in Ireland, until its long oppreſſed ſoil be purged of all its enemies.

"Vengeance, Iriſhmen, vengeance on your oppreſſors.—Remember what thouſands of your deareſt friends have periſhed by their mercileſs orders. Remember their burnings, their rackings, their torturings, their military maſſacres and their legal murders. Remember *Orr*!"

Alderman Alexander depoſed, that no attempt was made on the part of Henry Sheares to ſecrete any papers, which he had an opportunity of doing, neither did he make any attempt to reſcue himſelf. On being aſked if he betrayed any confuſion when the paper was taken—replied, that he could not ſay he did.

John Dwyer, Eſq; Secretary to the Lord Chancellor, ſworn, and examined by Mr. Standiſh O'Grady. depoſed that he ſaw Mr. Henry Sheares write very often, had not ſeen Mr. John Sheares write ſo frequently; thinks to the beſt of his recollection the paper preſented to him (the proclamation) is in the hand-writing of Mr. John Sheares, but cannot be certain—believes it to be his hand-writing. A note ſuppoſed to recommend Mr. C. (*i. e.* Cormick) found in Mr. Cormick's houſe, from John Sheares to Captain Armſtrong, was alſo proved to be in the hand-writing of John Sheares; alſo the names on the back of a letter alluded to by Captain Armſtrong, as well as an indorſement of names of diſtricts, armed men, &c. on a paper which the former deponent Kearney referred to.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Ponſonby.---Depoſed that he had conſiderable dealings with the priſoners, particularly with Mr. Henry

Mr. Henry Sheares, and never knew men of more integrity in money dealings.

Mr. Sheriff Archer ſworn and examined by Mr. Webber —depoſed, that he ſaw the letter produced to him directed to Captain Armſtrong, recommending the bearer, Mr. Cormick, as a gentleman of honour on whom he might rely. The letter was found in the houſe of John M'Cormick, of Thomas-ſtreet, who fled. Mr. M'Cormick is ſuppoſed to have been the perſon introduced under the initial C.

Major Sirr examined by the Attorney General, depoſed that he arreſted John Sheares in French-ſtreet, at the houſe of Surgeon Lawleſs. Being preſented with the letter and memorandums, was asked where he found them? replied, on Mr. Sheares's perſon, in his pocket, ſaid he had been in ſearch of Lawleſs, but could not find him.

Croſs-examined by Mr. M'Nally.—He ſearched Mr. John Sheares immediately on apprehending him; remembers that he ſearched his pockets, and believes that he asked him to ſurrender all the papers he had; was ſearching Lawleſs's apartments for papers when Sheares rapped at the door, on which he ſecured him, and told him he was his priſoner, he made no reſiſtance or attempt to fly. Having proceeded in the ſearch of Lawleſs's parlour, he required of Mr. John Sheares to give his papers, which he immediately delivered to him, without any attempt to deſtroy any of them.

Benjamin Rickey, deputed clerk of the Crown, depoſed, that Judge Day went down to Naas at the adjournment of the aſſizes there on the 23d of May. At this aſſizes, it was alledged on the teſtimony of Captain Armſtrong, that the people, as he had been told by John Sheares, were anxious to commence a riſing in order to avoid trial.

The

The Counsel for the prisoner here applied to the Bench to have the trial adjourned to the next day on account of the extraordinary fatigue and the lateness of the hour.

The Court, however, refused the application.

Mr. George Ponsonby opened his client, [Mr. Henry Sheares's] case, by deprecating any effects in the minds of so liberal a jury, from the high ferment of the public mind, and the peculiar circumstances of the times—but when we consider the infirmities of human nature, and the predominance of prejudice, which the eventful crisis we all labour under might induce, he felt it necessary, highly as he respected the gentlemen whom he addressed, to warn them to keep their minds as free as possible from the contemplation of public calamities and popular disorders, which might warp their good understandings and honest hearts from the habitual emotion by which they were usually actuated.—— Mr. Ponsonby here expatiated on the different counts of High Treason laid in the indictment; the difference between the interpretation of the law in England and Ireland touching the overt-acts to prove the Treason of imagining the death of the King, or adhering to his enemies. Imagining the King's death, he informed the jury, by an overt-act to accomplish the same, did not mean the political or metaphysical dissolution of his high rank and authority exclusively; but meant the natural and public dissolution of his mortal frame; a design as incapable of being effected in his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland where the King is non-resident, by any possible overt-act, as it could be in any part of his most remote dominions in *Jamaica*, *Grenada*, or the island of *St. Vincent's*. From this principle Mr. Ponsonby launched into the spirit of that law in England, which requires two witnesses to come forward in order to prove overt-acts of High Treason. He adverted slightly to the evidence which would be produced in the progress of the trial to invalidate the testimony of Captain Armstrong,

on

on the ground of Atheiſm and political diſaffection; and concluding with affirming, that he knew his client ſtood at the tribunal of men as capable, as they were willing, to decide his caſe, not miſled by any ſpecies of popular bias, but acting on the ſole ground of truth and inflexible juſtice.

Mr. Plunket, in opening the caſe of Mr John Sheares, deviated but little from the arguments which Mr. Ponſonby adduced.

Mr. M'Nally, as counſel for Mr. John Sheares, relied upon three diſtinct points as matter of law: that the King cannot quit the realm of Great Britain without the concurrence of the Parliament, and conſequently can incur no danger of his natural life from any conſpiracy in this kingdom where he is not preſent. He ſecondly referred to an Engliſh act, which gives a caution to the Court and Jury, that no judgment of criminality can lie againſt a man impeached of High Treaſon, unleſs he is proveably attainted; and thirdly, inſiſted that it is the uniform practice in England in all criminal trials, to conſider doubt and acquittal, in the ſentiments of jurors trying their fellow-citizens, as ſynonymous terms.

Captain Shirvington, ſworn and examined on the part of the priſoners, depoſed a knowledge of Captain Armſtrong, from his childhood, whoſe uncle he was; that he had been told the witneſs had been obliged to quit the Somerſet militia, in which he had been, on account of his democratic principles. That in company with witneſs, he had once expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms, "that if there could be found no other perſon for the purpoſe, he would, with pleaſure, become the executioner of King George III. and glory in the deed"---and that witneſs thereon flung out of the room indignantly, ſaying, that if ſuch were his principles,

ciples, he ought to throw up his commiſſion, and go over to the enemy at once; witneſs had not, ſince that time, much communicated with Captain Armſtrong.

In the croſs-examination, this witneſs confeſſed that he had been ſuperſeded in the commiſſion of the peace for the King's county for a few days, but could not tell why.

Mr. Thomas Drought was next examined, who proved that the witneſs, Captain Armſtrong, had in his preſence uttered a diſbelief as to the exiſtence of a God, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments; aſſerting that the ſoul of man became annihilated in death. The object of this examination was to ſhew that Mr. Armſtrong could not be influenced by the moral or religious obligation of an oath.

The croſs-examination of this gentleman ſhewed that he alſo had been ſuperſeded from the commiſſion of the peace for the King's county, where he then reſided; that he lived apart from his wife; and that about four years ſince he had wagered £1000, that Ireland, within that time, would have a Republican Government. He however ſaid, that when he made the bet he was drunk, and was too loyal to wiſh he had ſucceeded in it.

Several reſpectable witneſſes depoſed very favourably to the moral characters of the priſoners.

Mr. Curran ſpoke to evidence for three hours; in a great meaſure recapitulating the arguments of Mr. Ponſonby, Mr. Plunket, and Mr. M'Nally. He was replied to by the Prime Serjeant; and Lord Carleton, in his charge to the jury, quoted, beſide Lord Coke, Lord Hale, and Sir Nicholas Forſter, in anſwer to the argument that the common law required two witneſſes in England, in caſes of High

Treaſon, ſo as to refute the arguments of the priſoner's Counſel, whoſe ingenuity he, however, complimented, and whoſe zeal he praiſed. Mr. Juſtice Crookſhank, and Mr. Baron Smith ſaid they had nothing to offer to the jury, Lord Carleton having very ably anticipated any ideas they could form on the ſubject. The jury having then retired for about 15 minutes, returned a verdict *guilty* againſt both priſoners.

Upon hearing the verdict, the priſoners embraced each other and burſt into tears, exhibiting a ſcene of affection and diſtreſs which penetrated every perſon preſent.

The court then adjourned until three o'clock next day, when they met; and the priſoners, Sheares', were ordered to the dock. They reſpectively claimed the attention of the court before it proceeded to ſentence.

Mr. Henry Sheares requeſted ſome ſhort reſpite to ſettle the affairs of a large family before he was conſigned to that fate which awaited him; a fate to which he was perfectly reconciled. This unexpected mode of termination to his exiſtence not having permitted him to attend to the neceſſary arrangement of his affairs, or the final accommodation of his family, obliged him to claim this laſt favour from the humanity of the court.

Mr. John Sheares requeſted merely an opportunity to eaſe the intolerable burden of a mind labouring under unmerited calumny, in one point alone; He did not mean either to impeach the laws which adjudged him, the jury which condemned him, the witneſs who proſecuted him, or the court which had tried him; a court from which he experienced repeated acts of indulgence; but with his lateſt breath he would appeal to that God from whom he expected mercy, and at whoſe awful tribunal he was ſo ſhortly deſtined to appear, for the truth of his laſt aſſertion, that no

ſentiment

ſentiment of abhorred iniquity was ever more foreign from his mind, than that with which he was charged, of determining to give no quarter to ſuch of the army as ſhould be oppoſed to them, if ſubmitting; or that he ſhould have felt reluctance to extend mercy to the ſubmiſſive of any claſs, or a ſuppliant foe. He hoped that this declaration, at ſo awful an hour, would make an indelible impreſſion on the hearts of others, and turn them from any ferocious or ſanguinary plans which they might have fatally adopted. With the proſpect of the grave at his feet, and all thoſe ſolemnities which can render the laſt hour awful, he hoped the court would too believe him—he hoped his countrymen would believe him—he knew his GOD would believe him. He had no other favour to aſk for himſelf; but, turning to his brother, he in a moſt pathetic manner entered into his family affairs, and made a ſupplication for ſome reſpite. There was ſcarce a dry eye in court, and Lord Carleton, in his addreſs to them, quickened the ſenſibility which they had excited. He pronounced the painful ſentence incident to High Treaſon, with all its terrible accompaniments;

Trial of Mr. JOHN M'CANN. Tueſday, July 17th.

JOHN M'CANN was put upon his trial upon a charge of High Treaſon. The indictment contained two counts, one charging the priſoner with compaſſing the death of the King, and the other with adhering to his enemies. To ſupport each of theſe counts, thirteen overt-acts of treaſon were ſpecified.

To this indictment the priſoner had pleaded not *Guilty*.

The Solicitor General (Mr. Stewart) in a ſhort, ſimple, and conciſe manner, ſtated the caſe againſt the priſoner, which being little more than an anticipation of the evidence,

we ſhall not attempt to follow: the obſervations which he made were few, but forcible.

Thomas Reynolds, Eſq; ſworn; examined by the Attorney General.

Witneſs had formerly been a reſident of Dublin; had lived in Park-ſtreet in the Liberty; his houſe of buſineſs was in Aſh-ſtreet: he was a ſilk manufacturer, he believed the moſt extenſive in Dublin; he had acquired a conſiderable property in the county of Kildare, and lived at Kilkea-Caſtle in that county. Witneſs has been an United Iriſhman, was ſworn ſhortly after the French left Bantry; he knows the priſoner; ſaw him at the houſe of Oliver Bond; the priſoner reſided as clerk with Mr. Jackſon in Church Street, the Iron-founder; was an United Iriſhman, and acted as ſuch; witneſs has been in Baronial Meetings with him.

The general object of theſe Societies was to overturn the Conſtitution and the preſent Government, and eſtabliſh a Republican Government inſtead of it, and to favour any landing of the French to forward thoſe views.

Witneſs knew of the meeting of the 12th of March at the houſe of Oliver Bond, when the priſoner was taken; he had converſation with the priſoner on the ſubject; witneſs had been directed by the County Meeting of Kildare, as their Treaſurer, to attend a former meeting at Bond's houſe, and to apply to the priſoner, who would introduce him; witneſs had gone to the priſoner ſhortly before the 12th of March, and aſked him when and where the next Provincial Meeting would be held? Priſoner aſked witneſs if he had his county returns (of men, arms, money and ammunition?) Witneſs ſaid he had not. M'Cann then ſaid he could not give information of the meeting until theſe returns were brought by witneſs to be laid before the Provincial

vincial Meeting. Witneſs never attended a Provincial Meeting himſelf; but at the Baronial and County Meetings, bringing and receiving ſuch returns always made part of the buſineſs.

On the Saturday after, witneſs went to the county Kildare to procure the returns, and called on Mr. Daly at Kilcullen, for them; Daly is ſon to a man who keeps a ſhop there, and was a delegate with witneſs to the Provincial Meeting. He wrote copies of the returns, and gave them to witneſs, who brought them to Dublin on the Monday following, and either on Wedneſday or Thurſday called on M'Cann to ſhew them to him; M'Cann looked over them, and expreſsed his ſurpriſe that there had been no encreaſe ſince the former returns. He added that he could not then give witneſs information of the place and time of the Provincial Meeting, but would call on witneſs the next Sunday and tell him; witneſs aſked him to come to breakfaſt, which he did; this was on Sunday the 11th of March, the day before the arreſt at Bond's. Mrs. Reynolds having left the room, M'Cann told the witneſs that the Provincial Meeting would be next day at Bond's at eleven o'clock, and deſired witneſs to be preciſe in his attendance, as buſineſs of very great conſequence was expected. The members of the Provincial Meeting were delegates from the county ſocieties.

Witneſs had been at Bond's on Saturday the 10th; M'Cann was there alſo, and ſaid, "Bond, we muſt have a room for Monday." Bond replied, "You ſhall have the room you had laſt; will you have a little room alſo?" Bond and priſoner then walked up the ware-room, and whiſpered together, and ſhortly after witneſs retired.

Witneſs was appointed a Colonel through Lord Edward in November laſt, at witneſs's houſe in Park ſtreet; Lord Edward ſolicited him to become a Colonel for the barony of Kilkea and Moone; witneſs heſitated; witneſs had a proper-

ty

ty in that barony ; Lord Edward had one in the same county, about eight miles from witness's. Lord Edward argued with witness, and persuaded him to accept it. In subsequent conversation Lord Edward told him that one Kenna would call on witness before the election. Witness expressed doubts that the United Irishmen could stand in battle before the king's troops ; Lord Edward replied, "that this was not altogether necessary ; that a landing of the French was expected ; that some of the United Irishmen would certainly fall into their ranks; but that the great body would only have to make the king's troops feel themselves in an enemy's country, by attacking their convoys, cutting off their detachments, forage and provisions." Witness went to Kilkea in January. Matthew Kenna, who is a farmer's son, called upon him, and told him that at the first meeting in February a Colonel was to be chosen, and asked witness, would he stand the ballot ? This was to be a meeting of the captains of the barony ; witness told him he would, for that Lord Edward had been speaking to him. Kenna said he knew that; it would be necessary for witness to hold a civil employment in the service of the United Irishmen : Would he choose to be Secretary or Treasurer ? Witness said, Treasurer, as least responsible, and of least trouble. Kenna said he was glad of it ; that he would go forward himself as Secretary. About the 15th of February he called again, and told witness he was unanimously chosen Colonel and Treasurer.

[Here the prisoner's counsel objected to any evidence concerning Bond, who was not on trial.]

Witness was strengthened in his determination by another person. Kenna came about the 15th of February, (he was an United Irishman, and one of witness's captains) and told witness that himself had been chosen Secretary ; that a county

county meeting would be held next Sunday at the Nineteen-mile-houſe: that he would meet witneſs on the road, and ride with him to the meeting.

Witneſs went with him to the meeting; each member firſt took an oath of ſecrecy, and they then went to the election of a new delegate to the Provincial Meeting, and Secretary and Treaſurer, for the next three months.

Mr. Cummins of Kildare, was choſen Secretary; a doubt aroſe as to the propriety of electing a new Treaſurer, out of reſpect to Lord Edward, the former Treaſurer, who was abſent; but Cummins ſaying that he had directions from Lord Edward to ſay, that being a marked man, he wiſhed for a while to drop attending the meetings, and deſired them to appoint a Treaſurer for three months; witneſs was choſen Treaſurer, and Daly of Kilcullen, Delegate. The Secretary and Treaſurer are from their offices Delegates. Michael Reynolds, of Naas, had acted in ſome appointment (witneſs believed that of Secretary) for three months preceding; he told witneſs that a provincial meeting would be held next day at Oliver Bond's, at one o'clock; witneſs did not attend; it was too far; witneſs had to go home fourteen miles. and return thirty ſix, and it was then four o'clock in the evening.

The arreſt took place the day after M'Cann breakfaſted with the witneſs.

Michael Reynolds was the perſon who deſired witneſs to call upon M'Cann with the return, and told him he ſhould be thereupon admitted.

About four o'clock on the day M'Cann breakfaſted with the witneſs, witneſs called upon Lord Edward at Leinſter-houſe;

houſe ; witneſs had got a printed paper of orders from Captain Saurin to the lawyers infantry, directing them to repair to Smithfield in caſe of alarm, to apply to him for ball-cartridge, and if obliged to leave town, to depoſit their arms at his houſe for ſafety, and encloſing an injunction on another piece of paper, "to keep thoſe orders ſecret." Witneſs ſhewed this paper to Lord Edward, who ſeemed greatly agitated on reading it, and ſaid, he thought Government intended to arreſt him, and that he wiſhed he could get off to France to haſten the invaſion, which he could do by his intimacy with Talleyrand Perigord, one of the French Miniſtry ; he ſaid, "he would not approve of a general invaſion "at firſt, but that the French had ſome fine faſt-ſailing fri-"gates, on board which he would put as many Engliſh and "Iriſh officers as he could procure to come from France, "and as many perſons capable of drilling men as he could "get, with ſtores, ammunition, and military, and run theſe "into ſome port in this kingdom—he thought Wexford, as "the moſt likely to be unſuſpected, and being amongſt their "friends ; if this ſucceeded, he could eſtabliſh a rallying "point until other help ſhould come."

The meetings at which witneſs attended with the priſoner, had for their buſineſs the receiving returns of men, arms and ammunition, &c. for the general cauſe : priſoner acted as Secretary to baronial meetings, where witneſs was preſent ; witneſs was delegated along with John Cormick, of Thomas-ſtreet, to attend a Baronial Committee at the Struggler in Cook ſtreet ; when they went, M'Cann came out of the room and took them into an adjoining one, and there ſwore John M'Cormick, that he had been duly delegated to attend the meeting, and alſo to anſwer for the due delegation of witneſs. He then brought Cormick and witneſs into the Committee ; Mr. M'Cann was that day rechoſen Secretary : this was in March twelve-month : witneſs has known him ever ſince perfectly well.

Witneſs

Witneſs has heard that M'Cann was taken at Bond's; the officers taken there made a number of vacancies. Witneſs ſaw Lord Edward the Wedneſday after in his place of concealment in Aungier-ſtreet, who bid him come to him the next night, which he did. Lord Edward ſaid he had money as Treaſurer of the county of Kildare, and alſo as Treaſurer of the barony of Ophaley; that he would have theſe ſums ſettled. He gave witneſs a paper which he deſired him to give to the county committee as his addreſs to them; "not to think any thing of what had paſſed, it was "a trifle; that they ſhould fill up their vacancies as ſpeedi- "ly as poſſible; that they ſhould be very ſoon called upon." [This paper was afterwards burned at a meeting of witneſs's captains at Athy, becauſe it was in Lord Edward's hand; it had been firſt read at a county meeting at Bell's, on the Curragh: the Tueſday after being market day at Athy; witneſs met his captains, when the paper was read and afterwards burned; "and that they might rely on his being "in his place in the day of need." In conſequence of this a new election took place in the room of Cummins; Michael Reynolds was elected. Witneſs knew Michael Reynolds from meeting him; he is a little dark-coloured man; Cummins was an apothecary in Kildare, of a thin countenance, rather tall, with dark lank hair.

Witneſs firſt diſcloſed the United Iriſhmen's buſineſs to Mr. William Cope, with whom he had conſiderable connection; witneſs had mortgaged a property to him of 5000l. and on the death of the late Sir Duke Giffard, they went together to Caſtle Jordan, to take poſſeſſion of it; they dined there; Lord Wycombe and other perſons were preſent, and the converſation ran on general politics; returning to town next day, Mr. Cope renewed the ſubject of politics, and repreſented in ſtrong colours, the horror of a revolution; the murders, robberies, and devaſtations; the

overthrow

overthrow of all religion, government, property, of every thing near and dear to man; in such a way that witness was shocked at the description. Witness then told Mr. Cope, that he believed he knew a person who was not sanguinary, and did not wish for murder, who would desert the United Irishmen, and to make amends for any crime he had committed in being one of them, would give government such information as he possessed, which witness believed was very considerable.

Mr. Cope seized on this, and said, that such a man would be, and ought to be placed higher in the country than any man that ever was in it; witness told him that neither honours nor rewards would be desired or accepted, if this man came forward; and that he, the witness, would call upon him in two or three days on the subject.

Witness did call, and said he had seen his friend, and prevailed on him to come forward on certain conditions, and that he had considerable information to give; Mr. Cope said the man ought to have greater conditions than he could wish for; a seat in parliament, and a thousand a year: witness replied, that the conditions were misunderstood; that all that was required was, that the person should not be prosecuted himself, nor be forced to prosecute any other person, and that the channel of information should be kept a complete secret; and that as the person would be in danger of assassination, if the thing transpired, he would be obliged to leave the country for a time, and therefore required that his extraordinary expences should be paid. Mr. Cope desired to know what they would be; witness said a liberty to draw on him for any sum under 500 guineas would be required. Mr. Cope pressed greater rewards, and expressed his surprise that they should be refused; at length he acquiesced, and received the information which the witness gave him as from another person.

Witness

Witneſs told Mr. Cope of the meeting at Mr. Bond's before it was held; witneſs had heard of it from Daly about a fortnight before, but Daly could not give him preciſe information; on Sunday, however, after M'Cann had told witneſs, he told Mr. Cope decidedly of it.

Witneſs has incurred loſſes to the amount of 600*l.* and has received 500 guineas.

Witneſs never told any one, even his wife, of his communications with Mr. Cope.

Witneſs went afterwards to Kilkea, attended one county meeting, and one meeting of captains; ſhortly after Kenna came to him and told him, it was ſaid he was the man who betrayed the meeting at Bond's; that he had heard it as a rumour, but if he heard more of it he would acquaint him. On the 16th of April, the delegate of the barony of Narra and Rheban, whoſe name witneſs does not know, came to him from the county meeting, and ſaid he (witneſs) muſt attend the county meeting at Bell's on the Curragh, to ſtand his trial on accuſations brought from Dublin from the Provincial Meeting by Michael Reynolds, for having betrayed the meeting at Bond's; he ſaid he was ſure, and ſo were all the reſt, that witneſs would be acquitted.

Witneſs had before determined to quit the country, but had been delayed by Mrs. Reynolds being ill; he intended to have ſet out on the Monday after, but on Saturday Captain Erſkine, and a party of the 9th dragoons, came to live at free quarters at Kilkea, and put witneſs under arreſt; they ſtaid eight or ten days, and deſtroyed much of his property, eat his proviſions and drank his wine; after they left him, witneſs ſet out for Dublin; at Naas, he met Mr. Taylor, of Athy, who told him he had intended to write or come to witneſs, to let him know that he (witneſs,) was the public talk of Dublin, as the perſon who had betrayed

the

the meeting at Bond's, and that if he went there he would be murdered, and the house in which he was pulled down; witness then went back to his house, and the next morning as he stood at the post office door at Castledermot, he was arrested by a party of the 9th dragoons, and sent to Athy gaol, on information sworn against him by one of his own captains.

Witness does not suppose that government knew him to be the person giving information, for he desired Mr. Cope not to mention his name, and he has reason to believe that even Mr. Cope did not know that the information came from the witness himself.

Cross-examined by Mr. Curran.—Said he was married to a Miss Witherington, the 25th March, 1794; was not more than sixteen years of age when his father died, had two sisters; his mother carried on business for some time after his death; does not recollect any charge having been made on him of stealing trinkets belonging to his sisters, nor of stealing his mother's cash; knows that a charge has been made on him by his mother of having procured a skeleton-key to an iron chest, where she kept papers, but no cash, "her partner, Mr. Warren, having taken care that she should not have much of the latter to encumber her. Is confident his mother was a woman incapable of making any charge which she did not believe true, as she was a woman of truth, though passionate; was charged with stealing trinkets belonging to his mother, and a piece of lustring, (during her partnership with Mr. Warren,) to give to a girl, which charges he acknowledged were well-founded; denied having had a skeleton-key. Being asked how long his mother-in-law, Mrs. Witherington, was dead? replied, about twelve months last April; she lived at his house in Ash-street, ten months previous to her death; complained of being ill a few days before she died; recollects that

that he had brought her a medicine; explained this circumstance, by saying that a Mr. Fitzgerald, who was an apothecary, and a friend to his family, on quitting business had left him a chest of medicines, composed of Castor Oil, Tartar Emetic, Rhubarb, &c.; that he himself was very subject to a sickness in his stomach, and that Mr. Fitzgerald made up some papers of Tartar Emetic for him to take when indisposed, which he frequently had occasion to do, and never failed to experience instantaneous relief from the dose; on one occasion recollects this medicine had saved his life. Mrs. Witherington having complained violently of her stomach, he recommended to her to take a paper of the Tartar Emetic, which had so often relieved him in a similar complaint: she consented, and it was administered to her. Being asked if she did not expire in eighteen hours after having taken the dose; replied, "she did not"—she lived from Friday to the Sunday following, and then expired to his sorrow. Acknowledged to have paid her 300*l.* a few days before her death, for which he took her receipt; the money he said was not found after her death. Being asked if he knew he had been charged by any of her family with having purloined this money? replied, that he certainly never had been charged to his face with such an act, but believes his brother-in-law, Captain Witherington, capable of saying unkind things of him. Accounted for the money not having been found after her decease, by expressing a confidence that her son Edward had taken it, for whom she meant to purchase a commission in the army, and assigned that as her reason for calling it in so precipitately, as well as an 100*l.* for which she had his bond.

Being asked if he knew a woman of the name of Cahil, answered in the affirmative. Did execute securities to her several times for money she lent him, particularly a bond for an 100*l.* and a note for 25*l.* Mrs. Cahil having drawn 5*l.* of the latter before it became due, he executed a part note

note to her for the remaining 20*l.*; cannot say whether he gave her any other notes or not; owed her 50*l.* besides: executed the bond to her shortly after his marriage. Said Mrs. Cahil was an old woman, who passed the principal part of her life in his family, and became latterly blind and infirm. After his marriage, Mr. Reynolds had her brought to his own house, in which there was a room allotted to her: Shortly after her becoming an inmate in his family she consulted with two ladies, friends of her's, one a Mrs. Molloy, his grand-aunt, and the other a Mrs. Fitzgerald his immediate aunt, whether she had not better sink the 170*l.* with him at for her life at 14 per cent. as she said she intended the principal at all events as presents to his children. He always paid her the interest as she called for it, and when she demanded a settlement he consented; but on receiving his former bond, instead of giving her a new one in return, he by mistake gave her an old bond and warrant filled up, but not executed, which lay in his office as a precedent for himself and his clerks; paid her part of the money and gave notes for the remainder. Had been in the country when he received a letter from a Mr. Sullivan, acquainting him of the mistake in the bond, which he answered immediately, saying he would shortly come to town and rectify the mistake. Received afterwards a letter from an Attorney on the same subject. When he came to town he went to Mrs. Molloy, who he knew was in the confidence of Mrs. Cahil, and he believed might have had the bond in trust. The note he acknowledged to have antedated to the day he received the money; cannot charge his memory with having antedated it within the period of his minority; was of age in 92, and the transaction of the settlement was in June 1793; received an angry letter from his aunt, Mrs. Fitzgerald, touching this business, but does not recollect that it contained any charge against him of having deceived an old, blind and helpless woman.—Mrs. Reynolds some short time since brought him the bond

and

and note, telling him that Mrs. Cahil had given them to her to deliver to him as the right owner. Mrs Oliver Bond, he said, went to Mrs. Cahil to get up the papers from her, he supposed, in order to injure him; offered her moreover a bribe to prosecute him for an alleged fraud, and threatened her with a gaol if she did not comply. Mrs. Cahil answered, that he, the witness, had always behaved to her like an honourable gentleman, and rejected her bribe. Mrs. Bond then offered to give her a considerable sum of money to deliver the papers, which she again refused, alleging she had given them to the right owner.—In the course of the cross-examination, witness asserted he had paid the money to Mrs. Cahil, and discharged his obligation by passing negotiable notes for the demand, part of which he had taken up as they fell due, and part remaining out, not having become due. When he received the fictitious bond and note from Mrs. Reynolds, he burned them.

Being asked if Mr. Cope did not threaten to prosecute him as a swindler for taking double credit for 1000*l.* in the course of their dealings, replied in the negative, and explained the circumstance to which it referred, by adverting to the transaction of having given him a mortgage for 5000*l.* on part of the property of the present Sir Duke Gifford, which witness purchased during his father's life-time. With this mortgage he passed his personal security, continuing still to deal with him, and incurring a debt on balance of account of 1000l. beside. Wishing to rescue his personal security, he offered Mr. Cope 1000l. to relinquish it. But he must confess that on Mr. Cope shortly after demanding a settlement of the balance due to him, he, the witness, attempted to stipulate, that on paying him the 1000l. due on account, Mr. Cope should relinquish his personal security connected with the mortgage for the 5000l.; against this Mr. Cope strenuously expostulated, and at length became displeased, offering him, however, one week, and

and no more, to consider on his conduct, and come to a fair settlement. The week having expired before he could satisfy Mr. Cope, being then in the county of Kildare, the latter wrote a very earnest letter to Mr. Val. O'Connor, his friend, on the subject, which Mr. O'Connor transmitted to him in the country, together with a letter of his own, in which he reproached witness very roundly for ingratitude and misconduct to Mr. Cope. When he received the letter, he was returning from a journey to his house in the county of Kildare, where he would have rested, but instead of alighting, he pursued his way to town. Went straight to Mr. Val. O'Connor's, and from thence to Mr. Cope, whom he satisfied without hesitation.

On being asked if he ever denied to any one that the bond which he got from Mrs. Cahil was not the real one? replied he did not. On being asked when he burned the bond? replied, about 14 or 15 days ago.

Q. Was it or was it not previous to your receiving a summons to attend the court as a witness, on the trial. Mr. Reynolds received the bond from Mrs. Cahil? A. I cannot say; but I am certain that Mrs. Reynolds never thought about a summons when she went to Mrs. Cahil. Witness said he burned the papers after Mrs. Bond had endeavoured to get them from Mrs. Cahil, he was sure for the purpose of injuring him.—Acknowledged he took the oath of allegiance, and afterwards the oath of an United-Irishman; that the latter was administered with more solemnity than the former; he took an oath of secrecy to the fraternity of United-Irishmen beside. When he took these oaths he knew the extent of the views which the parties had in binding themselves, being no less than to destroy the Government and subvert the Constitution. He took the oath of allegiance before he took the latter; had become a yeoman, but took no oath in consequence. Took both the oaths, he

acknowledged,

acknowledged, with equal intent to keep each.—Being asked when his mother died, and if he prescribed for her in the last sickness? replied, she died last November—he did not know of what disease, and never prescribed for her. Said he had a sister married to a Mr. Prendergast, and knows nothing of any deed of annuity perfected to her; knows a certain deed not of annuity, attempted to have been perfected.

William Bellingham Swan, Esq;—sworn and examined by the Prime Serjeant.—Identified the prisoner, whom he saw on the 12th of March last at the house of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-street. Discovered him with thirteen or fourteen more in company in a back room; having received previous information that he would find them there, he went thither, accompanied by three serjeants in the army dressed in coloured clothes, two of whom he posted in different situations to secure the hall and inner doors. He entered the house with a Serjeant M'Doogan, of the Dunbarton fencibles, who also accompanied him up stairs; and on entering the room saw a certain person at a table, with a paper before him; he saw the prisoner with the words newly written on the paper, "I, A. B. do solemnly declare that I have been duly elected." When witness entered the room, he found the persons seated at the table, with papers lying before them, on which he desired the parties to hold up their hands: this he did lest they should destroy the papers, and threatened to fire on them if they refused to comply. He found a prayer-book on the table, with various papers on their persons; and Serjeant M'Doogan having by his directions approached the fire place, in searching for papers there, he discovered a bundle with a memorandum-book, which he brought to him. In the room he found the following persons, of whose names and places to which they acknowledged to have belonged, he took a list, which he read—

Mr. Ivers, Carlow; Laurence Kelly, Queen's-county; George Cummin, Kildare; Edward Hudson, Grafton-ſtreet; John Lynch, Mary's-Abbey; Sam. Griffin, Tullah, co. Carlow; Thomas Reynolds, Clonmelton; priſoner, Church-ſtreet; Patrick Devine, Ballymanner, co. Dublin; Thomas Traynor, Poolbeg-ſtreet; Wm. Byrne, Summer-hill; Chriſ. Martin, Dunboyne; Peter Bannon, Portarlington; James Roſe, Windy-harbour.—

Richard Dillon, Bridge-ſtreet, who ſaid he only followed the army into the houſe, and was in a few days afterwards diſcharged. He arrived at eleven o'clock exactly, and entered by a paſs-word which the ſerjeant procured, and which was, "where is M'Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?"

Arthur Guinneſs, junior, ſworn and examined by Mr. Mayne.—Depoſed that he knew the priſoner at the bar, and is acquainted with his hand writing: believes the paper No. 1, preſented to him, to be the priſoner's hand writing; to the paper No. 2, he could not ſwear; a part of No. 3 was in the priſoner's hand-writing; No. 4, a letter addreſſed to Edward Ratigan, Eſq; he proved to be the priſoner's hand-writing; all of Nos. 5, 6, and 7 he proved, except the ſignature of Mr. Swan. No. 1 was a letter directed to M. Byrne, Eſq; Grumley's Hotel, addreſſed thus: "Brother, incloſed you have a letter to citizen F. (*i. e.* Lord Edward Fitzgerald) will make inquiries to know if L. E. F. (the ſame) is in town, if not you may ſee him at the Rock: I am to organize a new ſet this evening, and to attend my B. C. (Baronial Committee) which may detain me longer than I thought; but it is probable I may ſee you at ten o'clock.

(Signed) "J. M'C."

No. 2,

No. 2, letters and lists, on which appeared returns of armed men from different counties of the province of Leinster, amounting in all to 67,295, of whom Wicklow returned 12,095, Queen's county 11,689, Carlow 9414, Meath 14,000, Kildare 10,863, and the county of Kilkenny but 604. This list and two duplicates thereof were dated the 18th and 19th of February last; the amount of money received did not appear to exceed 40*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* At the foot of No. 2 were certain resolutions, which appeared, as stated by the Solicitor-General, to have been formed on the very night (February 19th, 1798) when the Earl of Moira moved the question in the house of Lords to inquire into the cause of the distracted state of this kingdom. The Resolutions are as follow:

"Resolved, That we will pay no attention to any measure which the Parliament of this kingdom may adopt to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing less than the complete emancipation of our country can satisfy us.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that if the other provinces be in the same state of forwardness, as to men, arms, &c. as Leinster, as soon as we can obtain information thereof, we will immediately proceed to act; and that the Executive be requested to take such measures as shall bring about an Union of the provinces."

Another Resolution was, "That the Committee of Five do prepare a military test to be laid before the Provincials at their next meeting."

Another Resolution recommended the appointment of an Adjutant General from three officers from each regiment, whose names should be sent in to the Executive Directory,

by their reſpective Colonels, and the proper officer for that appointment to be from thence ſelected by the Directory.

Another Reſolution went to order ſixteen guineas to purchaſe a horſe for a Delegate to be ſent with orders from the Executive, and when there ſhould be no further uſe for him to be ſold, and the value depoſited in the treaſury.

Another Reſolution went to requeſt the Executive to account for a ſum of ſixty guineas, with which they were chargeable.

The Military Teſt was alſo found, and ran as follows:— "I, A. B. do ſolemnly ſwear that I will perform my duty, and obey all lawful commands of my officers, while they act in due ſubordination to the lawful Committee."

After the examination of a few more witneſſes for and againſt the priſoner, Mr. Curran occupied two hours in ſpeaking to evidence, and Mr. Saurin's addreſs to the Jury in reply, occupied nearly the ſame ſpace of time. In the interval between both ſpeeches, two gentlemen, Mr. Cope, and Mr. Furlong, of Aungier-ſtreet, depoſed to the character of the witneſs Reynolds, that notwithſtanding any public rumours to his prejudice, from their long acquaintance with him, and their extenſive dealings, they believed him as worthy of credit on his oath as any other man in the community. This they re-aſſerted with the approbation of the Court, after an ingenious croſs-examination.

After Mr. Saurin's addreſs to the Jury, Mr. Baron Smith laid down the law of High Treaſon in his charge to them, and recapitulated the evidence with a variety of candid and pertinent obſervations, and a ſtrong remark that whatever degree of turpitude might appear generally to have ſwayed the principles and conduct of Reynolds through life, the Jury were not warranted to reject his teſtimony ſolely on that

that ground, the moſt they were entitled to do was, to weigh his teſtimony with due conſideration of the corroborating circumſtances contraſted with the ſuſpicion of his veracity which the witneſs's conduct or character might excite.

The Jury retired, and in two minutes returned a verdict —*Guilty.*

SPECIAL COMMISSION.

The Trial of MICHAEL WILLIAM BYRNE.

M. W. BYRNE having been put to the bar on trial for High Treaſon, fifteen peremptory challenges were made on the part of the priſoner—ſixteen out of the pannel ſet aſide for want of freeholds, and fourteen ſet aſide on the part of the Crown, the following jury were ſworn:

J. Aſhley, foreman,	*M. Hay*,	*J. Manders*,
W. Pike,	*J. Croſthwait*,	*B. Simpſon*,
C. Bingham,	*W. Long*,	*W. Wainright*,
G. Darley, jun.	*G. Walker*,	*F. Parker.*

The indictment againſt the priſoner conſiſted of two counts—firſt, "compaſſing and imagining the King's death;" ſecond, "adhering to his enemies now at war with him." To ſupport the firſt count the ten following overt-acts were laid, and eight out of the ten went to ſupport the ſecond count:

"Firſt, Aſſembling and conſpiring with other falſe traitors unknown, to ſtir up rebellion within the kingdom—and procuring arms, ammunition, and a number of armed men to be employed in effected the ſame.—2d, Aſſembling and conſpiring to depoſe the King.—3d, Conſpiring to overturn by force the lawful Government of the country, and

and change by force the Conſtitution.—4th, Aſſembling with other falſe traitors to conſult on the means of raiſing rebellion, &c.—5th, Aſſembling, &c. to conſult on the means of depoſing the King.—6th, Becoming a member of a treaſonable ſociety called United Iriſhmen, the better to effect the purpoſes aforeſaid.—7th, Aſſembling to take and receive returns and accounts of men, names and officers, arms, ammunition, &c. to be employed in raiſing and levying war and rebellion —8th, Procuring and obtaining certain paper writings reſpecting the aforeſaid returns of men, arms, &c.—9th, Aſſembling with other traitors at the houſe of Oliver Bond, in Bridge-ſtreet, to conſult on the means of raiſing rebellion.—10th, Aſſembling at ſaid houſe to take and receive returns and accounts of men, arms, and ammunition, &c. as aforeſaid."

The Prime Serjeant, on behalf of the Crown, ſtated the caſe, and briefly adverted to the law reſpecting the crime of compaſſing and imagining the death of the King; a crime, he ſaid, neither capable of being aggravated, nor admitting of extenuation; and called

William Bellingham Swan, Eſq; who was ſworn—examined by the Attorney General.

He is a juſtice of the peace for the county of Dublin, and confidentially employed under the authority of Government, as a peace officer; in conſequence of a warrant from Mr. Pelham, the late Secretary, to arreſt a convention of perſons aſſembled at the houſe of Oliver Bond, on the 12th March laſt, on that day he repaired thither, accompanied by thirteen military ſerjeants in coloured cloaths, one of whom he ordered to go before the party and procure admittance by the following paſs-word, "Where is M'Cann? Is Ivers, from Carlow, come?" Having gained admittance, witneſs proceeded to the room where his informations ſtated that conſpirators were to meet—it was a back-room, on entering

tering which he perceived a number of men in ſmall groupes, and one man ſitting at a table with papers and a prayer-book before him.—He ſnapped at a paper on which the man had apparently been writing, the ink being wet, and in his anxiety to come at it, the man eſcaped and joined one of the parties who were ſtanding in the room, ſo that he could not afterwards identify him. After ſeizing on the paper, he cocked a piſtol and told the perſons in the room to hold up their hands, and threatened to fire on them if they attempted to deſtroy a ſingle bit of paper remaining, and he gave previous directions to the ſerjeants to be exact in examining the hands of the parties within, leſt they might attempt to deſtroy any.—The witneſs here identified the priſoner at the bar as one of the party. He took a liſt of the parties names and reſidences. On the priſoner he fonnd a letter written to him by M'Cann, having relation to a connexion with the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and beginning in the fraternal ſtile, with the word brother; ſeveral other papers were found in the room alſo, and one particularly on the perſon of one Lynch, which was in the hand-writing of the priſoner, and importing to be an addreſs from the county of Wicklow committee to their conſtituents, and which was nearly as follows, viz.

"The C.—W.—C.—inform their conſtituents that by advice from the Provincial Committee, it appears very flattering accounts have been received from abroad, which will in a few days be officially handed down. The provincial returns of men have been only encreaſed a few thouſand ſince the laſt country report, but this is accounted for by ſome new members not yet come in—The C. C recommended to their conſtituents to pay no attention to flying reports calculated by falſe emiſſaries for the purpoſe of leading the people aſtray and diſuniting them; The C hear with regret the diſſatisfaction expreſſed by the B. N. C. [ſuppoſed barony of New Caſtle] as not being ſufficiently

ficiently ſupplied with arms, &c. they aſſure them that every exertion to that effect is making, and that quantities of p-k-s, (ſuppoſed pikes) are now ready manufactured for delivery, but at the ſame time, recommend to have as many made as poſſible in each B—[ſuppoſed barony] as they will thereby become much cheaper."

[Here the addreſs contained an obſervation on ſome want of regularity in the payments of money made by the baronial treaſurer.]

The C. feels with concern the apathy of their fellow Cits. [ſuppoſed citizens] of the C---W---[county Wicklow] who refuſe to contribute the trifling ſum of one penny per man, to the relief of their brethren in Wicklow gaol, where many innocent citizens are in want of the neceſſaries of life, and chooſe rather to famiſh than betray the truſt repoſed in them. C. C. inform their conſtituents that they are in debt to one perſon who advanced 18*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* to the relief of priſoners.—[Here paper ſtates the number of brethren impriſoned, and the baronies they belonged to, making in all forty-two. It urged the payment of ſubſcriptions, and exhorted to a full and punctual attendance at the next meeting, as there was to be tranſacted buſineſs of the utmoſt importance.] At the foot of the addreſs was a memorandum or return of men in ſeveral baronies, amounting in the groſs to 12,000 men, and having annexed to each barony ſums received for account of priſoners. The money amounted to 162*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* out of which 73*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* was paid on account of priſoners, and the balance was the fund remaining in the hands of the county treaſurer. It alſo contained a return of divers arms, &c.

Mr. Curran, as Counſel for the priſoner, aſked the witneſs on croſs-examination—"If the priſoner was not ſtanding at the door when the witneſs went in?" Anſwered, he did not recollect.

——Williams,

—— Williams, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, being ſworn.

Knew the priſoner at the bar---that he has ſeen him write, and was acquainted with his hand-writing. A paper, No. 3, was produced to the witneſs, the 1ſt, 2d, and part of the 3d ſide of which he believed to be priſoner's hand-writing; the figures thereon he could not ſwear to.

Mr. Arthur Guinneſs, jun. was produced to ſwear to the hand-writing of M'Cann, in the papers found at this meeting, and publiſhed in our report of his trial. They were here reſorted to as part of the written evidence in proof of the object and intention of the meeting at which the priſoner was found.

Mr. Buſhe, as Counſel for the priſoner, roſe to object to this ſpecies of evidence, on the ground that a letter found on the priſoner's perſon not being his own hand-writing, was not admiſſible evidence in point of law, nor was the production of papers found in the ſame room with the priſoner at the time he was arreſted ſufficient to operate againſt him, no evidence of the alledged conſpiracy having been adduced.

Attorney General in reply ſaid, that if in this caſe he made a conceſſion to alter the arrangement of the evidence, having ample parole evidence to produce of the conſpiracy, beſide the internal written evidence in the papers found in the room, it would operate forcibly for the great purpoſe which the Crown had in view to put down the rebellion, not yet extinguiſhed, by making a ſalutary example of the perſons moſt conſpicuous in fomenting it. In reply to the objection againſt the production of a letter written to the priſoner, and found in his pocket, he was proceeding to cite the caſe of Lord Preſton, where letters addreſſed to him and found in the boat which was conveying him to France,

France, were admitted in evidence, when the Court overruled Mr. Bushe's objection.

Thomas Reynolds, Esq; sworn—and examined by Mr. Saurin.

Nearly retailed the evidence he gave on the trial of M'Cann, omitting only the circumstance of going to Leinster house to confer with Lord Edward Fitzgerald. In stating how the different committees of United Irishmen were organized and linked with each other, he mentioned how the money in their funds was to be appropriated. He said it was applied various ways; principally in the purchase of arms and ammunition, and in the support of the families of those who were obliged to fly the country; also to support prisoners, and to fee lawyers on the prosecution of such of their fraternity as were to be tried on criminal charges. He mentioned that in baronial committees it was a frequent practice to read lists of informers, spies, and others any way obnoxious to their principles or institution.

In the witness's cross-examination by Mr. Bushe, there was no material deviation from what he stated in that which occurred on the trial of M'Cann. Touching the transaction in which it was endeavoured to stigmatize him with having purloined the 300*l.* which he paid his mother-in-law, Mrs. Witherington, and for which he had her receipt, it appeared that his mother-in-law was not an inmate in his family; that she rented a house from him in Ash-street, where her husband and one of her sons lived with her constantly, and where he was only a frequent visitor. He denied having given any wine to his mother in her last illness, or having taken a bottle of wine away with him from her apartment, which she refused to drink of. Being asked if he expected any additional reward or compensation for losses from Government to requite his services, replied he did not.

Q. Would you accept of any if tendered to you?—A. I can't anſwer what I would do; I can only ſpeak of what I have done.

Q. From the preſent diſpoſition of your mind, can you anſwer whether you would accept of a reward or not, if immediately offered to you?---A. I would not.

Q. Would you accept of a reward to-morrow?---A. If you aſk me to-morrow I'll make you an anſwer.

Q. Can you gueſs in round numbers, you need not mind fractions, how many oaths you have taken within theſe ſix months?---A. About ſeven or eight.

Q. Were they all conſiſtent with each other?—A. They were not; but I truſt that the oath I have taken in court this day, added to that I have taken on the laſt proſecution, will in the eyes of God and man, abſolve me from my former crimes. [Our readers will pleaſe to remark that the witneſs ſwore in his direct examination on M'Cann's trial, as well as on this, "that he was induced to communicate the informations he gave Mr. Cope to be tranſmitted to Government, by the horror he conceived at the crimes to which the ſchemes of his aſſociates would lead."] He ſaid he did not recollect having taken a voluntary oath at Naas to exculpate himſelf from a charge of having betrayed the United Iriſhmen, but he gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to a Mr. Flood, at Naas, who told him that he was aſperſed with having betrayed his friends, that he had not done ſo. Theſe aſſurances he ſaid were extorted from him by a juſt apprehenſion that he otherwiſe might be aſſaſſinated; and were it requiſite, he would give fifteen times as many aſſurances, and take fifteen times the number of oaths he had taken, to ſave his life.

Being

Being asked what were the principal objects to which the first oath of an United Irishman was directed? He replied, to obtain an equal representation of the people in parliament, and an emancipation of the Catholics. Being asked why the real views of this fraternity, (that of substituting a republican form of government in this kingdom, as he swore, after subverting the Constitution) was not avowed as an obligation in the test oath? he replied, that such views were studiously concealed in the oath under the mask of reform and emancipation, lest by having their schemes too suddenly developed it might deter people from uniting with them.

Q. Did not numbers of people join the cause, who never thought the object of the society extended beyond parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation?——A. There did, hundreds upon hundreds.

Thomas Miller, sworn and examined by the Solicitor General---Deposed that he was an United Irishman, and knew the prisoner at the bar, whom he identified; that he lived within three miles of the prisoner in the co. Wicklow; that the prisoner sent for him before he, the witness, ever knew him; that on going to the prisoner's house, according to the message he received, he met the prisoner on the road, who asked him if he was an United Irishman? witness replied he was: the prisoner then observed that he was appointed to regulate the barony or half-barony of Rathdown in that way, and asked witness shortly after if he could bring in a return of 120 men from the parish of Powerscourt? Witness replied to the prisoner, that he believed he could. Prisoner then shewed witness the form of the return he was to make—was in three weeks after in company with the prisoner, at a house in the Glen of the Downs---many others of their society were present, who elected him to accompany the prisoner to a county meeting to

to be held at Anna Curry—the county, however, did not meet then according to appointment, as there were not members enough—ſaw the priſoner afterwards at a meeting in Francis-ſtreet, where nothing material happened except a controverſy whether they ſhould riſe of themſelves or wait for the French—the latter was determined on. At a meeting in Francis-ſtreet ſhortly after, he ſaw the priſoner again who paid him ſome money.—Witneſs got eighty-four or eighty-five pikes made by a ſmith, which he gave up and down to the people of the diviſion to which he belonged—thoſe to whom he gave them ſubſcribed a ſhilling a-piece for them, and the money he received for the pikes he paid over to the priſoner. He gave voluntary informations of this buſineſs to Lord Powerſcourt and Lord Monk, knowing himſelf to be in danger, and having been obliged to abſcond and join the camp at Blackmore-hill; he thought giving the informations might ſecure him from being taken. It appeared alſo that he was elected a captain over 120 men.

On croſs-examination by Mr. Curran, it came out that the witneſs had no trade or calling, but lived with his family dependant on his father, who was a working farmer —he acknowledged having frequently ſtolen (or as he expreſſed it, "taken without leave") holly-timber, and other kinds of timber to make cars, &c. which he ſold in Dublin —he was in no battle during the rebellion, for when the army approached their camp, his friends retreated; his company, he ſaid, laid down their arms before he took refuge in the camp.

James Ryan ſworn and examined by Mr. Webber.—Said that he was a ſhoemaker, and knew the priſoner at the bar; acknowledged himſelf an United Iriſhman ſince April 1797. He was appointed ſecretary to a meeting the harveſt after—he ſaw the priſoner at a meeting, where he told

told the ſociety that he was head delegate from the county —priſoner then aſked the ſociety if they had formed the military ſyſtem yet? to which witneſs replied they had not, but that he had formed the ſplits. Priſoner then called for pen, ink, and paper, on which he wrote, "We the undersigned (meaning certain authoriſed individuals) do hereby certify that we are ſatisfied with the conduct of——, ſince his commencement with us, and do ſend him forward in a military capacity to act as our ſerjeant. This paper was produced to the witneſs and identified by him. Witneſs depoſed that he underſtood the object of their ſociety was to overturn the King and Conſtitution, and to put to death every one who was not an United Iriſhman. Priſoner at this meeting ſaid it was ordered that they ſhould lie by for three weeks, at the end of which, by every information he could procure, the French would land, and then they ſhould riſe to aid and aſſiſt them. He ſaid it was reſolved that rewards of different proportions of the lands and properties belonging to thoſe who ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed, ſhould be given to thoſe who ſhould fight in their cauſe according to their reſpective merits. When witneſs found that the time for riſing was approaching, he on the 20th of May laſt communicated theſe his informations to Lord Powerſcourt and Lord Monk voluntarily, and without any hope of reward.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Buſhe.—Said, that whipping had not been introduced by the military in the county of Wicklow when he gave the informations, conſequently he was not in dread of being whipped—was neither offered or promiſed any kind of reward by Lord Powerſcourt or Lord Monk.

William Cope, Eſq; corroborated that part of Reynolds's teſtimony, reſpecting the converſation with him on the journey from Sir Duke Gifford's, as ſtated in M'Cann's trial,

trial, and the informations he procured from him in consequence.

[Here several of the papers discovered were read by the deputy clerk of the Crown to the jury—one of which contained a caution against receiving bank notes, as the revolution about to be accomplished must necessarily sink their value to that of waste paper: the others were those which we published in M'Cann's trial, together with some duplicates of the accounts of men, arms, and ammunition, annexed to the paper No. 3, found on the person of Lynch, at the meeting at Bond's, and proved by Counsellor Williams to be the hand-writing of the prisoner.]

The Crown here closed the evidence for the prosecution, and adjourned for refreshment about five o'clock.

The court being resumed, Mr. Curran stated the prisoner's case.

Mrs. Anne Fitzgerald, first witness for the prisoner, and a professed religious, belonging to a convent of nuns in King street, deposed, that from her particular knowledge of Mr. Reynolds, her nephew, and his general character, he was not worthy of credit on his oath before a court of justice.

Mrs. Molloy, a grand-aunt of Mr. Reynolds, testified the same—but on cross-examination it appeared she grounded her opinion chiefly on the transaction of Mrs. Cahill's bond, as detailed in M'Cann's trial.

Miss Eleanor Dwyer nearly repeated her depositions on M'Cann's trial respecting this bond.

A Doctor Paisley, from the county of Wicklow, deposed to the character of the prisoner, whom he knew; said it was a general good one, as far as he could hear of him in his neighbourhood.

neighbourhood. It appeared that witneſs, as well as the priſoner, was a yeoman in the Mount-Kennedy cavalry, and that they both had reſigned. The priſoner, he ſtated, previous to his reſignation, when the French were at Bantry Bay, volunteered marching to reſiſt them.

In the croſs-examination, a tedious detail of the witneſs's motives for withdrawing from his corps in November laſt occurred, which we omit to report, having no eſſential connexion with the trial.

Captain Gore of the Mount-Kennedy cavalry, was produced to the priſoner's character, while under his command. He depoſed that he conſidered him a well-behaved, gentlemanly young man; and aſſigned as a reaſon for the priſoner's quitting the corps, his having taken part with a Mr. Hoey, the priſoner's brother-in-law, in ſome difference which occurred between Mr. Hoey and his (the witneſs's) brother. He knew nothing of the priſoner's political conduct or opinions ſince he quitted his corps, which was about the month of October laſt.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Saurin.---Acknowledged he heard that all the chief Roman Catholics in the county of Wicklow had been aiding the rebels, and he knew the priſoner was among the chief Roman Catholics.

Mr. Furlong, attorney, was called on by the Crown to ſupport the character of the witneſs, Reynolds. He depoſed that he did, from his knowledge of him, and his general character, believe him worthy of credit on his oath in a court of juſtice.

Mr. Buſhe propoſed to the counſel for the Crown to reſt their caſe here, and let it go to the jury; which was refuſed. Mr. Buſhe then ſpoke to evidence for near two hours.

Mr. S. O'Grady,

Mr. S. O'Grady, one of the counsel for the Crown, spoke to evidence in reply.

After which each Judge respectively charged the jury, who, after retiring a few minutes, returned with a verdict —*guilty*.

The Gaoler, by mistake, having hand-cuffed the prisoner, the Attorney-General ordered that his hand-cuffs should be taken off until he was asked what he had to say. This being done,

The prisoner addressed a few words to the Court, expressive of his gratitude to his counsel for their zealous and able defence of him; and hoped, if at all compatible with the duty of the bench, that they would not proceed to sentence for a day or two, that he might have time to adjust his worldly and spiritual concerns.

The Attorney-General replied, that sentence may be pronounced, but that his execution should not be precipitated, and that he should have every possible indulgence consistent with the nature of his situation.

This unfortunate young man did not appear to be more than twenty or twenty-one years of age at the utmost. He was executed at the front of the New Prison on Wednesday the 17th of July, and met his fate with a degree of courage perhaps unequalled.

The Trial of Mr. Oliver Bond. Monday July 23d.

Mr. OLIVER BOND, indicted at the commission for High Treason, offered two affidavits to the consideration of the court to postpone his trial, one was from himself, on the ground of an encreased prejudice excited against him in the public mind by a misstatement in two of the public

prints, of a circumſtance reported in the trial of John M'Cann, viz. "that the priſoner, with others not yet arraigned for any crime, were found by Juſtice Swan in another apartment of his houſe, beſide that in which Mr. Swan arreſted certain perſons now in gaol." The other affidavit was from the priſoner's agent, Mr. Johnſon, ſtating that Mrs. Molloy was a material witneſs for the priſoner at the bar, and that having a reluctance to appear in court, ſhe could not be found, ſo as to compel her attendance. Mr. Curran and Mr. Ponſonby ſpoke to both points. Mr. Attorney-General on the ground of miſtatement of any trial in the public prints, replied, that unleſs the priſoner could adduce proof that theſe publications were under the authority of the crown, the crown could not be reſponſible for any miſtatement in them. He was moreover inſtructed to ſay, that every poſſible atonement was made for an involuntary miſtake in the publications alluded to, by contradicting and rectifying it in the next ſucceeding publication. Reſpecting the affidavit of the priſoner's agent, as to the non-attendance of Mrs. Molloy, the court were already in poſſeſſion of the importance of her teſtimony; and he appealed to them, whether in the preſent progreſs of the arduous buſineſs before them, it would be prudent to impede that progreſs by unneceſſary delay. The court did not conſider either affidavits as ground ſufficient to poſtpone the priſoner's trial. Lord Carleton and Baron George then retired, leaving Judge Chamberlaine, Baron Smith, and Judge Day on the bench, before whom, on the priſoner's exhauſting his challenges, the following jury were ſworn:

Sir T. Lighton, Bt.	*R. Alexander*, jun.	*M. Roberts*,
B. Richardſon,	*R. Hanna*,	*J. Manders*,
Alderman Thorp,	*R. Jackſon*,	*J. Croſthwaite*,
W. Kirkpatrick,	*J. Murray*,	*W. Pike.*

The

The indictment againſt the priſoner at the bar was founded on two ſpecies of High Treaſon, viz. "compaſſing and imagining the death of the King, and adhering to his enemies." In ſupport of each the ten following overt-acts were laid:—1ſt, Aſſembling and conſpiring with other traitors to ſtir up rebellion within the kingdom, and to procure men, arms, and ammunition to forward the ſame.---2d, Conſpiring and conſulting with others to depoſe and dethrone the King---3d, Aſſembling and conſpiring to overturn by force the government of the country, and to change by force the conſtitution.---4th, Conſulting on the means of raiſing a rebellion, and of procuring men, arms, and ammunition, to effect the ſame.---5th, Conſulting on the means of depoſing and dethroning the king.---6th, With intent to overturn the government, &c. aſſociating with a brotherhood, called United Iriſhmen.----7th, With the ſame intent, giving a chamber in his houſe to other conſpirators to conſult on the projects laid down in the overt-acts.---8th, With intent aforeſaid, adviſing Thomas Reynolds to accept of the commiſſion of a colonel in the rebel army in the county of Kildare.---9th, Adminiſtering to ſaid Thomas Reynolds the teſt-oath of an United Iriſhman.---10th, Collecting from divers perſons divers ſums of money to purchaſe arms, ammunition, &c. for the purpoſe aforeſaid.

Mr. Attorney-General.---My lords and gentlemen of the jury, notwithſtanding that I am ſo much accuſtomed to diſcharge ſimilar duties with that which now devolves on me; notwithſtanding that for many days paſt I have, in common with the bench, been engaged in vindication of the public rights, never, in any moment of my life, have I ariſen under the impreſſion of more ſolemn feelings, or on an occaſion, the importance of which claims more exertion on my part, or attention on that of the public. I am not at all ſurpriſed, that ſo many people attend this trial, or

that

that it excites so much and so general anxiety, for I am free to acknowledge, that on the subject matter of the prisoner's trial, the public safety depends in fearful and trembling existence.

The prisoner at the bar stands committed under the charges now preferred against him, so early as the 12th of March last, and the commission under which your lordships sit, has been sealed now more than two months, and the prisoner and the public have had sufficient time to be perfectly aware of the nature and extent of the charges to be adduced on the present trial. In addition to this, the prisoner has had other great advantages: the time previous to trial, in which he should, by law, be furnished with a copy of his indictment, and the names of the witnesses to be produced against him, has been more than doubled, and most glad shall I be of every circumstance that can afford him an opportunity of establishing his innocence. Be assured, gentlemen of the jury, that no man can wish less than I do, that you should bring a single ingredient into that box, of a tendency to irritate your minds. If you have not left all rankling feelings outside the door, I must fervently entreat that you dispossess yourselves of them at this moment, before you hear a single word of the evidence.

The prisoner at the bar is a native of the north of Ireland. Many of the jury know the respectability of his connections in that part of the kingdom, and with those very jurors most cognisant with that fact, I leave the prisoner to avail himself of this favourable knowledge. I cannot here pass over in silence, the manly, wise, and loyal conduct which has distinguished the north of Ireland---on a recent trying and unhappy occasion; when other parts of the country plunged into that madness and outrage, the consequences of which must long be felt in the scenes of their existence, the

the good ſenſe, ſpirit, and civilization of the north have preſerved its credit and its peace, and maintained to it the happy and ſmiling features of induſtry and good order.

The priſoner has been long a reſident of this city, very extenſive in a proſperous trade, and by that tie connected with every part of the kingdom. He is a man of ſtrong mind and body, and of talents, which, if perverted to the purpoſes of miſchief, are formidable indeed. Within the precinct of that city, in which he has reſided ſo many years, he now comes to take his trial, and on charges of a conſpiracy proceeded upon in the metropolis of Ireland, and almoſt within the view of every man here. This is an additional and great advantage to the priſoner, and a conſpicuous feature of our laws, a trial of the vicinage, for thus an opportunity is furniſhed of knowing the character of every perſon brought forward, and of forming a deciſion under all theſe advantages of a trial by jury—that diſtinguiſhing character of our excellent and unrivalled conſtitution. The end of all laws, in all countries where the general good is held in view, is to preſerve equally the laws and the people; making the maintenance of the one the beſt protection of the other. Where then ſhall we look for that perfection, or happy diſtinction in the law of any human ſociety, which can for a moment direct our admiration and reverence from the trial by jury, that great and ſacred barrier between the crown and the ſubject, and never did I addreſs a jury wherein the beſt characters of this popular judicature have been more conſpicuous. While paying the tribute which truth and the reſpect I entertain for you demands, do not think, gentlemen of the jury, that I deſcend to the petty alliance of flattery; as I believe you to be equally free from the influence of flattery, or fear; ſo I ſhall endeavour to addreſs you without applying to either. The frame of the indictment makes it neceſſary that I ſay a few prefatory words; in

in reſpect, however, to the law in this caſe, I am much relieved by what has already been heard on the ſubject in the courſe of theſe trials, and by the deciſions of the bench on thoſe novel and dangerous doctrines relative to the king's reſidency, which have taken up ſo much judicial time—been ſo ingeniouſly diſcuſſed by gentlemen of very great eloquence indeed, but which it is very probable have by a previous promulgation contributed, in no ſmall degree, to thoſe deluſions whoſe victims they are now defending. It is not to be calculated what miſchief to the peace of this country has, probably, been effected by the doctrine that a rebellion in Ireland cannot affect the monarch in England, or on that principle, become an act of high treaſon; nor the evils which might further reſult from ſuch an axiom, had it not been exploded by the voice of the bench; but, thank Heaven! the more the people of theſe countries underſtand the law, the more will they reverence it, and ſecurely repoſe under its protection. I will not, therefore, trouble you with the law in this caſe, confident as I am how tenacious the court will be to give you the fulleſt information on that ſubject.

The priſoner, Mr. Bond, has been for many years paſt an enterpriſing political character; he was deeply engaged in trade—had grown rich, very rich---and no man had more or better cauſe to reverence that conſtitution under which his wealth had encreaſed, his perſon was ſecure, and his property protected. There was nothing deſperate in circumſtance or imbecile in character, to make him an inſtrument of deluſion in the hands of others; but, on the contrary, it will appear, that he himſelf was the prompter and the teacher of that treaſon for which he now comes before you to be tried. His activity encreaſed ſince the French revolution took place, and the idea of eſtabliſhing a Republic in Ireland, and promoting that object by the aid of France, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of his mind. The facility with which a French fleet arrived off our coaſts at that period, when it was

diſperſed

dispersed, and its purposes defeated, by a providential interference, did not attend to damp the spirit of the prisoner; from that time, the likelihood of a similar enterprise, which however, the French had too much sense to undertake, though they might operate on the folly and wickedness of this country by their promises, had been strongly in the prisoner's contemplation, and had urged him to such an organization of rebellion, as should invite and assist a French invasion.

Here then is the over-act of adhering to the king's enemies, for what so likely to comfort their hopes, to aid their efforts, and to protract the evils of war, as the keeping this country in a state of ferment? I am not at all surprised, that under such feelings, the French were unwilling to accede to the peace which it is well-known the British government long since endeavoured to restore to Europe. To effect his revolutionary objects, the prisoner applied to the agency of an association, too well known in this kingdom, and denominated United Irishmen, and which agency was particularly active in the year 1797. It is not for me at present to enquire what species of government was to have been introduced on the ruins of that which I will shew you was to have been overthrown. Much has been written, much has been spoken, and much has been felt on the subject, and it has never been out of my mind the short, but descriptive sentence, uttered on the subject of what is called, government of France, by a distinguished political character, when participating in the administration of the day, and urging the necessity of the war which we are still engaged in—"It is that country whose state is bedlam, whose liberty is death; that government whose centre, broken into ten thousand pieces, is put into the hands of ten thousand maniacs, who employ the power they are thus possessed of, to scourge themselves like scorpions!" But we shall leave the visionary and arrogant philosophy that induces to destroy, and go at once to intelligible

intelligible facts applying to the nature of the case; and the simple thing, gentlemen of the jury, for you to look to is, whether the malignant intention and imagination existing in the mind of the prisoner, can be so manifested by the facts adduced in evidence, as shall leave no doubts in the minds of honest and conscientious men, of the imputability of the crime, and that imputability will be established, if the overt acts that shall be proved were done with any of the views laid in the indictment. Gentlemen of the jury, it will appear to you, that in the year 1797, the prisoner was more than commonly active in administering the oath of the United Irishmen, and in arming and embodying men of this description for the promoting of that rebellion which has since broken out. It will appear that Mr. Reynolds, a witness to be produced, has met him in various societies, unbosoming himself as to the means of accomplishing his treasons, and among others the expected arrival of the French, and the exertions to be made for destroying that city, in the bosom of which he lived, prospered, and was protected: laying plans of carnage, which must have involved in their dreadful consequences those people with whom he had been in daily habits of friendly and commercial intercourse; and consulting how to throw the sovereignty of the country into the hands of a desperate banditti, by whom a giddy and credulous multitude was imposed on under the idea held forth, that their situations would be bettered. Even when the conspirators were few, they were not desponding as to success, and the history of every revolution was commenced with the aspiring enterprise of a few--but among that few, in the present case, the prisoner was prominent, and you will find him already exulting in speculation over the ruins of that government which he had conspired to overthrow, and proceeding from day to day with rapid stride, until organized rebellion gave hopes of a full completion to his views.

The

The ſame Mr. Reynolds I have already mentioned, unfortunately for him, was brought acquainted with a man, cloſely connected with the evils which have overtaken this country---with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whoſe name I never mention without anxiety and grief, and of whom I wiſh to ſpeak with as much tenderneſs as poſſible. "The evil that men do, lives after them." I do not mean that the good, if any, effected by this unfortunate nobleman, ſhould be buried with his bones. Lord Edward's military ſpirit, the habits he acquired in another country, made him feel a deſire to put his own in a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, that he might ride triumphant in the ſtorm of rebellion.---His ambition, his enterprize, his French connection, his perſonal courage, and perhaps his perſonal diſappointments, all contributed to make him an active principal in a conſpiracy againſt his Sovereign and his country. He had encouraged many perſons to become Colonels in the United Army, and in this encouragement the priſoner at the bar was conſpicuouſly aſſiſting; and, as will appear, by his advice, Thomas Reynolds did take upon him the rank of Colonel of a regiment in the county of Kildare, organized for the expreſs purpoſe of rebellion, and aiding a French invaſion. The rebellion, we all know by dear experience, has raged—many of our intimates and our friends have fallen before it, and ſome of the beſt blood in the country has marked its cruel progreſs. No corner of this metropolis that has not a rebel neſt in it—no ſecret ſpot that was not the receptacle of pikes---and if all this could be without original inſtigators, I leave for your deciſion. [Here Mr. Attorney General went into the formation and progreſſive rank of the meetings, from the original to the provincial, and over all theſe an Executive Directory—through all of which the priſoner, it would appear, bore an active part.] In February laſt, continued the Attorney General, when the civil campaign to take place the following ſummer was in contemplation, the country was greatly agitated; but by a providential

vidential discovery of what was intended, and the measures adopted in consequence of that discovery, the country was saved. It was also providential that the capital was the scene where the principal conspirators held their consultations, as discovery was by this means rendered more easy, and the facts became more cognizable to a jury. [Here follows a statement of facts contained in the subsequent evidence.] On the 19th of February a provincial meeting was held at the house of the prisoner, which was adjourned to the 12th of March, to be held at the same place; and at this meeting of the 19th, among other transactions, a resolution was entered into strongly illustrative of the object of this conspiracy. On the very night that Lord Moira, with a degree of captivating eloquence, for which that nobleman is distinguished, was arguing with the Lords of Ireland, where he had been so long a stranger, and respecting which he had obtained very bad intelligence indeed, for I cannot suppose his Lordship guilty of deliberate mis-statement---on that very night when he was endeavouring to shew that there were no traitors in Ireland---that the innocent were accused, and the accusers were guilty---conspirators in the same capital were by a formal resolution giving the lie to what this able, eloquent, and popular character was urging in parliament. The resolution was expressed in these words:

"Resolved, That we will pay no attention to any measure which the parliament of this kingdom may adopt to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing less than a complete regeneration of our country can satisfy us."

The means of this regeneration were to be found in the machinations of United Irishmen; in the manufacture and use of pikes, and in the aid of those friends of the human race, the French constituted authorities. What this regeneration would be, is, thank God! matter of speculation,

not

not of fact. When taken by Mr. Swan, an highly active, useful, and confidential magistrate, several letters and papers, worthy observation, were found on the prisoner, and which, although in the hand-writing of others, sufficiently mark the prisoner's participation in their contents. Among these were a letter from a person of the name of Wilson, and one from Roger O'Connor, when confined in Cork gaol, dated the 18th of February, 1798. In this letter Mr. O'Connor talks confidently of soon seeing the prisoner in Dublin; expressed his satisfaction at the escape of a French prisoner, Hebier; and, in one part, where his confinement is the subject, exclaims, "Will the day of judgment never come!" There was also an appendix to the constitution of the society of United Irishmen, all of which will come before you in evidence. I have now gone through the greater part of the evidence, which will be laid before you, and I do most anxiously wish, that at a time when public safety is put to the wall, and the State is put on its defence, no portion of prejudice will mingle in the discharge of our duty; but that truth, and charity, and public virtue, will justify, in the eyes of God and man, the verdict which you shall give this day.

Thomas Reynolds sworn---examined by the Prime Serjeant---Said he was sworn a member of United Irishmen, by the prisoner at the bar, in the year of 1797, and that Richard Dillon, of Bridge-street, was present. That the object of that society was to overturn the government of the country, subvert the constitution, and aid an invasion of the French, for the purpose of forwarding such views: recollects a house in Bridge-street, called the *Brazen Head*; was present at meetings of United Irishmen at said house, in company with the prisoner at the bar, and Hugh Wilson, at which society they were occupied in forming splits. Witness was placed in a different split from the prisoner. At this meeting, John Cormick, who was also present, was chosen

chosen a secretary; witness was chosen a treasurer, and Hugh Wilson was chosen a delegate from the same split, to go forward to a baronial committee. The prisoner, Richard Dillon, Hugh Wilson, and several others, were present. Wilson at that time was clerk to Finlay's bank. Witness was a delegate from a county meeting of Kildare, to a provincial meeting, to be held at the prisoner's house. At the meeting held at the *Brazen Head* Tavern, witness heard the prisoner relate a plan which the society had in contemplation, to seize by force on the city of Dublin. An oath was administered to John Cormick by M'Cann, an United Irishman, and secretary to a baronial committee: this was the M'Cann whom witness recently prosecuted, and who in consequence paid the forfeit of his life. Witness further stated, that he met Lord Edward Fitzgerald about the month of November last, in company with Hugh Wilson; that his lordship accosted him, and asked where he could see him; witness in consequence gave him his address at Park-street, where Lord Edward did call on him, and made a proposal to him of accepting the commission of a colonel in the army, forming in the county of Kildare. [Here the witness entered into a tedious and complicated detail, for which, see the report of John M'Cann's trial, respecting the offer of the commission, &c. until new matter came out in support of the eighth overt-act against the prisoner.] On Wednesday he arrived in town from the county of Kildare, the place of his residence, as he stated, since November last.

He had a conference with the prisoner respecting the offer Lord Edward made him of a colonel's commission, and the reluctance, &c. he expressed at accepting of it. Vide M'Cann's Trial.

At this conference witness deposed, "that the prisoner at the bar advised him to accept of the commission offered to

to him," and that he replied, "since you advise me I will comply." This occurred previous to the provincial meeting, held at the house of the prisoner on the 19th of February, and adjourned from thence for three weeks, viz. to the 12th of March following. Witness was to have been at the meeting at Mr. Bond's on the 19th of February, previous to which, M'Cann, the provincial secretary, informed him that he could not be admitted unless he brought with him the returns, marking the strength of his county in men, money, arms and ammunition. To excuse himself from attending this meeting, witness deposed, he wrote to the prisoner a letter of apology, requesting he would inform the secretary, Mr. M'Cann, that he could not procure the bills, (i. e. the returns above stated), and consequently he could not attend until the following meeting.

[Here the witness stated, that the letter alluded to had been returned to him by Mr. Cope, who received it from government to return to Reynolds, conformable to preliminaries respecting the imformation settled between Mr. Cope and Reynolds, that the latter should not appear to prosecute.] It appeared that this letter was found by Mr. Swan on the prisoner's person, and given by him to Mr. Cooke, after the prisoner's arrest, at his own house, on the 12th March last, and that as witness deposed, he immediately on receiving it from Mr. Cope, burned it. Witness also asked the prisoner when the next meeting would be held, who referred him to M'Cann.

Our readers, by referring to our report of M'Cann's trial, will perceive that Reynolds's information to Mr. Cope of the transactions in which he confessed himself an accomplice, occurred between the 19th February and the 12th March, the day on which the provincial meeting at the prisoner's house was held. In this interval it will be seen, that the witness's contrition was accomplished, and his system

ſyſtem of atonement fixed, by a plan to betray the meeting to Mr. Cope, who was to tranſmit his informations to government; for this purpoſe witneſs came to town on Saturday the 10th March, and met M'Cann at the priſoner's houſe, and in the preſence of the priſoner. At this private meeting, M'Cann addreſſed the priſoner in the following manner:——"Bond, we muſt have a room in your houſe," to which the priſoner replied, "you ſhall,"—will ye have the room in which ye met laſt, or will ye have the little room?"—[Here witneſs depoſed, as he did before, that the priſoner and M.Cann retired to whiſper, and that on their return to the place where he ſtood, ſome trivial converſation occurred, after which he went off; it was, however, ſettled, that M'Cann ſhould breakfaſt with witneſs on the next day, Sunday 11th, to ſettle about his attendance on the 12th at the meeting. The witneſs and M'Cann did meet accordingly at breakfaſt, where the witneſs ſhewed him his returns, as his credentials to attend the meeting. M'Cann here gave him the paſs-word, by which Mr. Swan and the military entered the houſe and apartments of the priſoner on the following day. The witneſs then detailed the circumſtance of having attended Lord Edward Fitzgerald at Leinſter-houſe, and their converſation about a partial invaſion from France, &c. &c. After having thus ſettled as to the invaſion, Lord Edward walked the extent of the library, in which they were converſing, two or three times; then turning quick, exclaimed, "No! it is impoſſible, government can't find it out; they will never be able to diſcover where the provincials meet!" Witneſs alſo communicated to Mr. Cope, that the meeting would poſitively occur on the following day.

After this, witneſs wrote a letter to the priſoner, requeſting he would apologize for his not attending the meeting, as his wife lay ill, and had a phyſician attending her. This letter was alſo found on the priſoner's perſon. Witneſs

neſs ſtated, that he ſaw Lord Edward on the Wedneſday and Thurſday following, at a houſe in Aungier-ſtreet. When witneſs ſaw Lord Edward on Wedneſday, his lordſhip deſired him to meet him there the next evening, and he would give him ſomething for the county—witneſs met him accordingly, and received from him the addreſs to the county Kildare, ſtated in the former trial—alſo the account of caſh in his hands, as treaſurer to the county.

On being aſked, why he altered his mind with reſpect to giving evidence at the proſecution, he replied, that he diſcovered that his life was in danger from his former aſſociates, who found out he had betrayed them, and that he was aſſailed with cenſures, of having become a double traitor, firſt to his king, and ſecondly to the ſociety of United Iriſhmen. This refers in a great meaſure to his former detail of having been arreſted in the country, his being afterwards liberated when brought to town;—his reſolution to quit the country—his receiving the 500 guineas to defray his charges, and compenſate for extraordinary expences, inconveniences, &c. &c.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Curran.——The witneſs depoſed that he took the common united teſt out of a printed book—that it bound him to be of the ſociety of United Iriſhmen, and to the ends which that ſociety had in view—believes many took the oath who had no other idea connected with it, than religious union and parliamentary reform—that he received 500 guineas at different times, in conſequence of the information he gave to Mr. Cope, whom he drew on for 300 guineas about four or five days previous to the provincial meeting of the 12th of March, and the reſt afterwards—that he had not then been injured in his property, but as ſoon as he had given the information, in conſequence of which the priſoner and others were arreſted—he intended to go abroad as ſoon as Mrs. Reynolds

was

was sufficiently well to accompany him, and the money got ready to defray the necessary expences. That since the conversation with Mr. Cope, which produced his repentance, and subsequent public conduct, he had not sworn any persons United Irishmen; that his conversation was sincere, and he wished his accomplices would desist from their purposes, but did not wish to be accessary to their punishment. [Here the examination with respect to his having administered a dose of tartar emetic to his mother-in-law. was the same as on the previous trials.] That the corpse of his mother-in-law was put into a pitch sheet the fourth day after her decease, she having been a woman of gross habits of body, as it was determined to wait the arrival of her son, who was from home, before she could be interred. An examination relative to a bond and notes, and a money transaction with Mr. Cope, he explained fully to the satisfaction of the court and jury. He acknowledged that he had taken several oaths inconsistent with each other—an oath of secrecy at the county united meeting—one to his captains---one that he had not betrayed Bond's secrets (this to save him from assassination)---after this he took the oath of allegiance---an oath before the privy council-- two oaths on swearing the informations on which the present trials had been founded---three since, one at each trial---and, previous to all, the oath of allegiance---witness never took an oath as a yeoman.

William Bellingham Swan, Esq; examined by the Solicitor General.

Being asked if he was not a Justice of the peace and Quorum, and whether he was not confidentially employed by Government on several important services, replied in the affirmative. He was also asked, if government did not leave with him to plan the mode of arresting the provincial meeting of the 12th of March, he replying thereto, proceeded then to state that plan, and the manner in which it was executed

executed by twelve ſerjeants diſguiſed in coloured cloaths, as already related in the preceding trials—nothing further occurred in Mr. Juſtice Swan's direct examinations except the finding on the perſon of the priſoner certain papers and letters which will appear in their proper place.—On his croſs-examination by Mr. Ponſonby, he depoſed his having arreſted the priſoner in a ſhop or ware room, where he was in apparent indifferent converſation with two or three ladies and ſome gentlemen—that he communicated to the priſoner his having a warrant from the Secretary of State to arreſt him, and that he made no reſiſtance or attempt to eſcape.

——— M'Doogan, Serjeant Major of the Fermanagh militia—examined by Mr. Saurin.

Depoſed his having been one of thoſe employed on the 12th of March in the apprehenſion of the perſons met in Bridge-ſtreet, at Mr. Bond's houſe—that he went to the old Cuſtom-houſe to Mr. Juſtice Swan, who cauſed him and eleven other ſerjeants to diſguiſe themſelves in coloured clothes, and then, after telling them off, from No. 1 to 12, ſent the witneſs on before, directing him to make uſe of the paſs word, "where is M'Cann?—Is Ivers, from Carlow come?"—That witneſs accordingly went on, and having entered into the ſhop and office of Mr. Bond, he ſaw a tall man (whom he identified to be the priſoner) and had time only to uſe half the paſs-word, namely, "Where is M'Cann?"---when Mr. Juſtice Swan ruſhed in --witneſs ſaid that on repeating the part of the paſs-word, as already mentioned, the priſoner leaned towards him as if attending to what he was ſaying.

Francis Stroker, a clerk in Finlay's Bank---examined by Mr. O Grady.

Proved a letter found on the perſon of the priſoner, and ſigned with the initials H. W. to be the hand writing of Hugh Wilſon.

Mr. Vernon examined by Mr. Mayne.—Proved a letter alſo found on the priſoner, to be the hand-writing of Roger O'Connor.

Mr. Arthur Guinneſs proved the hand-writing of the deceaſed M'Cann—Counſellor Williams that of Michael Byrne—and Mr. Oliver Carleton proved finding certain papers the hand writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when ſeizing the papers called "The Preſs."

Mr. Rickey, deputy clerk of the Crown, here read a variety of papers which were produced on the trials of M'Cann and Byrne. On the back of a return of men, arms, &c. was the reſolution of the 19th of February which we have given in the ſtatement. A paper, No. 4, contained the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that if the other provinces are in an equal ſtate of preparation with that of Leinſter, as ſoon as information of that ſtate, and their determination to act in concert with the nation is known, we ſhall proceed to act.

Reſolved, That the Executive be directed to take ſuch ſteps immediately, as ſhall moſt effectually tend to bring about a union of the different provinces.

Reſolved, That a ſelect committee of five be required to prepare a military teſt to be laid before our next provincial meeting for their approbation.

A paper, No. 11, contained an addreſs from the county committee of Dublin city, and an appendix to the general conſtitution of United Iriſhmen, dated 1ſt February, 1798. The following is nearly the ſubſtance:

"Be not merely nominal brothers; but let your conduct correſpond with your profeſſion. Form into ſocieties in the

the manner named in the appendix, and chooſe for your ſecretaries men of good morals. Your numbers are truly formidable, and if organized, muſt be irreſiſtible; but if without union and organization, you are a confuſed maſs, and wholly uſeleſs. The ſtate and progreſs of ſubſcriptions are truly ſhameful. Beware of intoxication, and by no means aſſume party dreſs or ſigns, which will but expoſe you to the arts of ſpies and informers. Reſtrain yourſelves from intemperance of ſpeech, which commonly ſerves but as the maſk of hypocriſy. Avoid rioting of every kind, as only furniſhing to your enemies an opportunity of putting down the ſpirit of the country before it arrives at ſufficient maturity. Thus conducted, you will be all powerful. Be patient, be conſtant, be firm, be ready. Stand to no orders except official, and you are inſtructed by all means to diſtinguiſh yourſelves from thoſe wretches, who by robbery and violence prove a diſgrace to the name of United Iriſhman. Our's is the cauſe of virtue."

The appendix was to this effect, viz.

"No perſon is to take the teſt, except in the preſence of the friend who recommends him, and one black bean to exclude from election. Hold no meetings in public houſes; a few honeſt men can tranſact their buſineſs any where. The ſeveral ſocieties ſhould exert themſelves in paying in ſubſcriptions, the demands for which are rendered preſſing and neceſſary to the utmoſt degree by the diſtreſſes of our brothers. No ſociety to conſiſt of more than twelve, and theſe, in caſes where poſſible, ſhould conſiſt of perſons reſiding in the ſame ſtreet, that they may be known, and ſubject to the cenſorſhip of each other.

[Here follow ſome directions as to the formation and numbers of baronial and diſtrict meetings.]

No. 13, was the letter signed H. W. dated from Cork, and addressed to the prisoner, and was to the following import.

"On Friday I took the liberty of drawing on you for 4*l.* 9*s.* 1½*d.* favour of T. P. I hope you will be paid the enclosed bill on Mr. Nugent for 10*l.* which place to my credit. My mind and body has been so cooped up here, that knowing what I now do, I would not have accepted the situation for any emolument which I could derive from the situation, before a change of the present Government takes place. You may inform Mr. Jackson that I delivered the letter he gave me the day after I arrived, and was dogged to the house of his worthy friend, who is a marked man here. Rest assured that the progress science is making will astonish the world. The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the county Dublin militia has greatly encreased their fears, Mr. Finlay said they were all assassins, and that he feared to trust himself among them. I hear that numbers of preachers of the true gospel have been dispersed, and those dispersed here, depend upon it, have not fallen on rocky ground. A court martial has been held on five militia men, but they have been acquitted. If any thing material occurs here you shall be informed of it. My best regards to Mrs. Bond," &c.

Here the evidence closed on the part of the Crown.

Mr. Curran stated the prisoner's case, and addressed the court and the Jury nearly as follows:—Gentlemen of the Jury, fatigued as I am at this very advanced hour, and poorly as I am calculated to discharge the awful duty I am entering upon, I feel how much more my client must depend on the impartiality of his judges, than on the efforts of his advocate. I am not accustomed to make formal or premeditated speeches, but have been always of opinion, that my clients have found their best defence in the kind

and

and good-natured conſtruction of their jurors. I truſt that the preſent will not confound the weakneſs of the advocate with the imbecility of the cauſe, or becauſe the defence be poorly inſiſted upon, conclude that the accuſed muſt be guilty. Gentlemen of the jury, I do lament the preſent cauſe has not been brought forward as ſimply and as unconnected with extraneous matter as in juſtice and humanity it ought. I do lament, and God grant that my client may not have cauſe to lament, that any of thoſe little artifices, which attach like cankering excreſcences to the forms of juſtice, ſhould be employed in a great and ſolemn cauſe like this. I cannot but bewail that inſtead of trying a fellow ſubject on the ſimple allegations contained in the indictment, there are introduced petty obſervations and alluſions to perſons and things which ought not to intermingle in a cauſe like this. What have to do with this trial the perſonages named with ſuch ſeeming incidentality in the introductory ſtatement? In God's name, what relation has the ſpeech of My Lord Moira, in the Houſe of Peers, to the cauſe of my unhappy client? What the accidental table converſation of Lord Wycombe? If feeling and acting upon that dignity of mind which makes men reſiſt the ſelfiſh allurements of great fortune, and the debaſements of luxury—if an elevation of ſoul and uncommon extenſion of philoſophic views can make his name revered in the eſtimation of virtue, as it is exalted in titled diſtinction, then does Lord Wycombe challenge our admiration and eſteem; but what has all this to do with the charges preferred againſt my client? Gentlemen of the jury, much pains has been taken to warm you, and then you are entreated to be cool; when the fire has been kindled, it has been ſpoken to, and prayed to be extinguiſhed. What is that thing—[here Mr. Curran was interrupted, as he had previouſly and frequently been, by a buſtle and noiſe among the auditors. It was the third time he had been obliged to ſit down: on riſing, he continued]—I have very little,

little, ſcarcely any, hope of being able to diſcharge, in any manner, my duty to my unfortunate client, perhaps moſt unfortunate in having me for his advocate. I know not whether to impute theſe inhuman interruptions to mere accident; but I greatly fear they have been excited by that thing called prejudice."

Court.—Pray Mr. Curran, proceed in ſtating your caſe: we will take care, with the bleſſing of God! that you ſhall not meet with any interruption.

"You have been cautioned, Gentlemen, againſt prejudice. I alſo urge the caution, and not with leſs ſincerity; but what is the prejudice againſt which I would have you armed? I will tell you, it is that pre-occupation of mind that tries the accuſed before he is judicially heard—that draws thoſe concluſions from paſſion, which ſhould be founded on proof, and that ſuffers the temper of the mind to be diſſolved and debaſed in the heat of the ſeaſon. It is not againſt the ſenſeleſs clamour of the croud, feeling impatient that the idle diſcuſſion of fact delays the execution, that I warn you, No! you are too proud, too humane, to haſten the holiday of blood. It is not againſt any ſuch diſgraceful feelings that I warn you. I wiſh to recal your recollection to your own minds, and to guard you againſt the prejudice of elevated and honeſt underſtanding, againſt the prejudice of your virtues. It has been inſinuated, and with artful application to your feelings of national independence, that I have advanced on a former occaſion the doctrine, that you ſhould be bound in your deciſions by an Engliſh act of parliament, the ſtatute of William III. that it was abſolute on you to form that deciſion on the evidence of two witneſſes. Reject the unfounded accuſation, nor believe that I aſſail your independence, becauſe I inſtruct your judgment, and excite your juſtice. No! the ſtatute of William III. does not bind you; but it inſtructs you by declairng on a point

point which before was enveloped in doubt. The morality and wiſdom of Confucius, of Plato, of Socrates, and of Tully, does not bind you, but it may elevate and illumine you, as Britiſh acts of parliament have reclaimed you from barbariſm. By the ſtatute of William the III. two witneſſes are neceſſary in caſes of high treaſon, to a juſt and equal trial between the ſovereign and the ſubject, and Sir William Blackſtone, one of the wiſeſt and beſt authorities on the laws of England, ſtates two witneſſes to be but a neceſſary defence of the ſubject againſt the profligacy of miniſters, and he fortifies himſelf in this opinion with that of Baron Monteſquieu, who ſays, that where one witneſs is ſufficient to decide between the ſubject and the ſtate, the conſequences are fatal to liberty, and a people ſo circumſtanced cannot long maintain their independence. The oath of allegiance which every ſubject is ſuppoſed to have taken, ſtands on the part of the accuſed againſt the oath of his accuſer, and no principle can be more wiſe or juſt than that a third oath is neceſſary to turn the balance. Neither does this principle apply to the evidence of a mere common and impeached informer, ſuch as you have heard to-day, but to that of any one witneſs, however high and reſpectable his character. I put this queſtion to the bench, and I put it confidently, if it is its opinion that the ſtatute of William III. ought not to have any authority with an Iriſh jury? If ſuch be the opinion of the bench, I will not ſay it is a wrong one—my reſpect for the court will prevent my even thinking it is a wrong one; but I will ſay that it will be the firſt of the kind ever given in this kingdom. I now beg leave, gentlemen of the jury, to make a few obſervations on the charges laid in the indictment, and on the evidence offered in ſupport of theſe charges. The priſoner is accuſed of compaſſing and imagining the King's death, and of adhering to his enemies: theſe are the two counts. The evidence is two-fold, parole and written.

Mr. Reynolds

Mr. Reynolds has ſworn that he was made an United Iriſhman by the priſoner; and alſo ſworn to what he conceived to be the objects of the ſociety into which he had thus entered. But has he, gentlemen of the jury, ſworn on his oath (liberal as he hath been of them), that he was informed of theſe objects by the priſoner at the bar?—No ſuch thing. But he has told you what (if you can believe any thing he ſwears) muſt go as concluſive evidence in favour of my client; he has told you that hundreds upon hundreds (theſe were his words) took the United-teſt, attaching no other meaning thereto than what was obviouſly conveyed by its liberal expreſſion. He has told you that two claſſes of men took this obligation—one was binding them to thoſe objects of conſpiracy and treaſon which he has already explained; and the other, as conſidering it to be a bond of religious charity and affection, and political and conſtitutional reformation; but he has not, hazardous as he is in evidential enterprize, ventured to ſtate which of theſe claſſes the priſoner at the bar belonged to; and who ſhall attach crime to religious charity? Who ſhall thus aid in reſtoring the terrible and gloomy reign of bigotry which embroils men in hatred, and in blood, turning their paſſions againſt each other's follies, inſtead of teaching them to bear each other's weakneſſes; and endeavour to ſanctify with the blaſphemous perverſion of religious ſentiments, the luſt of power, and the luſt of vengeance? What, gentlemen of the jury, ſhall I ſay to you on the ſecond feature of this teſt or obligation? Parliamentary Reform. On that point no man can be worſe calculated to addreſs you than I am for in entering on the ſubject, I ſhould ſeem to ſtand here more as the defender of myſelf than of my client; and if to promote a Reform in Parliament be to compaſs and imagine the King's death or adhere to his enemies, you had better withdraw your attention from the unhappy gentleman at the bar, and in me behold the real criminal. If Parliamentary Reform be to endanger the

life

life of the King, and to comfort his enemies, let your vision take a wider range, and, in the parent of the measure, in the first minister of Great-Britain, behold the prime, the great, and the original culprit. I know that Reynolds has laboured to establish a connection between the prisoner and the meeting held at his house, but how does he manage? He brings forward asserted conversations with persons who cannot confront him: With M'Cann, whom he has sent to the grave, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, whose premature death leaves his guilt a matter which justice dares not pronounce upon. He has never told you that he has spoken to any of these in the presence of the prisoner. Are you then prepared in a case of life and death—of honour and of infamy, to credit a vile informer, the perjurer of an hundred oaths; a wretch whom pride, honour, or religion could not bind? The forsaken prostitute of every vice calls upon you with one breath to blast the memory of the dead, and blight the character of the living. Do you think Reynolds to be a villain? It is true he dresses like a gentleman, and the confident expression of his countenance, and the tones of his voice, favour strong of growing authority. He measures his value by the coffins of his victims, and in the field of evidence, appreciates his fame, as the Indian warrior does in fight, by the number of scalps with which he can swell his triumphs. He calls upon you by the solemn league of eternal justice, to accredit the purity of a conscience washed in his own atrocities. He has promised and betrayed; he has sworn and forsworn; and, whether his soul shall go to Heaven or to Hell, he seems altogether indifferent, for he tells you that he has established an interest in both. He has told you that he has pledged himself to treason and to allegiance, and both oaths has he contemned and broken. At this time when reason is affrighted from her feet, and giddy prejudice takes the reins; when the wheels of society are set in conflagration by the rapidity of their own motion, at such a time does he call on a jury,

a jury, in Heaven's name, to credit a teſtimony blaſted by his own accuſation. Vile, however as this execrable informer muſt feel himſelf, hiſtory, alas! holds out too much encouragement to his hopes; for, however baſe, and however perjured, I recollect few inſtances in caſes between the ſubject and the crown, where informers have not cut keen, and rode awhile triumphant on public prejudice. I know of no inſtance wherein the edge of the informer's teſtimony has not been fatal, or only blunted by the extent of its execution, and retiring from the public view beneath an heap of its own carnage. I feel, gentlemen of the jury, that I ought to beg pardon of Mr. Reynolds. I do beg his pardon, for I frankly confeſs that I have no reaſon, no authority whatever for placing him in this point of view, but his own ſelf-accuſation.

"Gentlemen of the jury, you have been emphatically called upon to ſecure the ſtate by a condemnation of the priſoner. I am leſs intereſted in the condition and political happineſs of this country than you are, for probably I ſhall be a leſs while in it; I have then the greater claim on your attention and your confidence, when I caution you againſt the greateſt and moſt fatal revolution—that of the ſceptre into the hands of the informer. Theſe are probably the laſt words I ſhall ever ſpeak to you, but theſe laſt are directed to your ſalvation, and that of your poſterity, when they tell you that the reign of the informer is the ſuppreſſion of the law. My old friends, I tell you that if you ſurrender yourſelves to the mean and diſgraceful inſtrumentality of your own condemnation, you will mark yourſelves fit objects of martial law—you will give an atteſtation to the Britiſh miniſtry that you are fit for, and have no expectation of any other than martial law, and your liberties will be flown, never! never! to return. Your country will be deſolated, or only become the gaol of the living, until the informer, fatigued with ſlaughter, and gorged

gorged with blood, ſhall ſlumber on the ſceptre of perjury. No pen ſhall be found to undertake the diſguſting office of your hiſtoriographer, and ſome future age ſhall aſk, what became of Ireland! Do you not ſee that the legal carnage that takes place, day after day, has already depraved the feelings of your wretched population, which ſeems impatient and clamorous for the amuſement of an execution. It remains with you—in your determination it lies, whether that population ſhall alone be compoſed of four ſpecies of men; the informer to accuſe, the jury to find guilty, the judge to condemn, and the priſoner to ſuffer. Gentlemen of the jury, it regardeth not me what impreſſion your verdict ſhall make on the fate of this country, but you it much regardeth. The obſervations I have offered—the warning I have ſet forth, I bequeath you with all the ſolemnity of a dying bequeſt; and, oh! may the acquittal of your accuſed fellow-citizen; that worthy and virtuous man, who takes refuge in your verdict, from the vampyre who ſeeks to ſuck his blood, be a bleſſed and happy promiſe of ſpeedy peace, confidence and ſecurity to this wretched, diſtracted, and ſelf-devouring country!"

Mr. Valentine O'Connor, examined by Mr. Ponſonby.—Depoſed a knowledge of the witneſs, Reynolds, from the age of five years, and that he did not think him a man to be believed upon oath in a Court of Juſtice.

On his croſs-examination, he ſaid, that he formed his opinion from a tranſaction that took place between Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Cope, (which tranſaction had already been explained to the court.)—He acknowledged that Mr. Cope ought to know the nature of that tranſaction full as well, if not better than him. Witneſs knew very little reſpecting Mr. Bond, but had heard that he was an United Iriſhman. Being aſked whether he had previouſly told any one the evidence which he had juſt given, replied, that upon

upon a preceding trial he came into Court, and a perſon enquiring from him what evidence he deſigned to give, he anſwered that he would repeat no part of it till ſworn. He acknowledged that Mrs. Bond had called on him to urge his attendance on her huſband's trial, and he did ſo conformable to his duty, not from any particular deſire he had to appear on the occaſion.

Anne Fitzgerald was next ſworn, and her direct and croſs evidence confirmed her former teſtimony, that the witneſs for the crown, her nephew, Thomas Reynolds, was not worthy of credit on his oath in a court of juſtice.

Henry Witherington, an officer in his Majeſty's ſervice, examined by Mr. Ponſonby.

Depoſed his having unfortunately a ſiſter married to the witneſs Reynolds—that his mother was dead about twelve months laſt April, and that Mr. Reynolds was the cauſe of her death, he having adminiſtered a potion to her on a Saturday evening, and that ſhe died early on Sunday morning—he repeated that the potion was adminiſtered late on Saturday night—recollected that the body of his mother was put into a pitched ſheet on Monday evening—Being aſked why ſhe was wrapped in the pitched ſheet, he replied, that Mr. Reynolds ſaid it was neceſſary.—He further ſwore that he was well acquainted with the character of Reynolds, whom he did not think worthy of credit on his oath in a Court of Juſtice.

Croſs-examined by the Solicitor General.—He acknowledged that Mr. Reynolds was abroad the evening previous to his mother's death, and when he came home late at night, that he could not gain admittance to her chamber, at the door of which he made enquiry, relative to her—that Mr. Reynolds did not, as advanced in the witneſs's direct

direct evidence, administer the potion to the witness's mother late on Saturday evening, but gave it to her early in the day, she preparing and taking it herself at night—that he saw her take it, and she frequently in the course of the night said that Reynolds gave it to her—that as to the fact of Mr. Reynold's giving his mother any potion or medicine, he had no other knowledge than what he thus derived from these distempering wanderings—that a male and female servant, and a nurse-tender, were at that time in the house, and knows not of their being dead—a physician and an apothecary also attended, who ought to know if his mother had been poisoned—he knows not whether these be yet alive.

Major Witherington, of the 9th dragoons, examined by Mr. Curran---was in the north of Ireland when his mother died, which circumstance took place on a Sunday---he arrived in town on Monday evening, but did not see her until Tuesday, when he found her wrapped up in a pitched sheet, and so disfigured that he could not distinguish a feature of her face---has reason to know the character of Mr. Reynolds, and did not think him worthy of credit on his oath in a court of Justice. On his cross-examination by Mr. O'Grady, Major Witherington acknowledged that his discredit of Mr. Reynolds on his oath, chiefly arose from what he had sworn for the last few days in that Court, and partly from some thing which he had said, which the witness deemed an injustice to his own character---not acquainted with the prisoner, nor had ever, to his knowledge, seen him before.

William Cope, Esq; again examined, said that he knew Mr. Reynolds many years, and from that knowledge believed him to be as deserving of credit on his oath, in a court of justice, as any person he knows.

Cross

Croſs-examined by Mr. Curran---He depoſed entertaining the ſame opinion of Mr. Reynolds now and in February laſt---that it never occurred to him whether he (Reynolds) was capable of violating the oath of allegiance, and he ſuppoſed no honeſt man would, but the united oath was an exception to this rule, inasmuch as it was a deception on the public mind---and as ſtated by Mr. Reynolds himſelf, might be taken by a perſon without his knowing the real objects of it: never heard the pretty anecdote of a pitch ſheet; did not think Mr. Reynolds capable of hurrying an old woman out of the world with cream of tartar, or tartar emetic; heard that Mrs. Witherington was accuſtomed to drink freely of ſpirits.

Mr. Furlong depoſed ſtrongly to the character of the witneſs, Reynolds, and that from a knowledge of ſeven years, he believed him worthy of credit in a court of juſtice on his oath.

The Rev. Thomas Kingſbury, on his direct evidence, depoſed ſimilarly to the credit of Mr. Reynolds, from a knowledge of four years ſtanding.

On his croſs-examination by Mr. Curran, he ſaid that it was not him by whom Mr. Reynolds was married, or attended his mother-in-law in her laſt moments; he was not of rank yet to be a ſpiritual Doctor---only a maſter of Arts; heard in court of the pitched ſheet, and no where elſe; has been very intimate in Mr. Reynolds' family, and never heard of his preſcribing tartar emetic, or his having been guilty of perjury---that he built his opinion of Mr. Reynolds on his moral character, and the rectitude of his conduct; did think there was ſuch a thing as an hypocrite, but not that Mr. Reynolds was one.

The evidence on both ſides having cloſed here,

Mr. George Ponſonby, as counſel for the priſoner, ſpoke to evidence for an hour and an half.

He

He was replied to by Mr. Saurin ; after which

Judge Chamberlain charged the jury.---He firſt laid down the law of High Treaſon both in England and Ireland, and reaſoned upon the juſt diſtinctions which the act of the 7th William III. made. He next went over the courſe of evidence, and pointedly remarked, that if Reynolds was not a true witneſs, he muſt have been a prophet, as the meeting he foretold actually came to paſs, and the intentions he aſcribed to the traitorous ſociety who ſent delegates there, ſo woefully exemplified in the cruel and atrocious rebellion which actually broke out. If priſoner, he ſaid, meant fairly to diſprove Reynolds's evidence, why not bring forward Dillon, Wilſon and M'Cann, to whom he alluded, all living men within the vicinity---men whom Reynolds alleged he aſſociated with, and with the two former in the priſoner's company. As to the pains which had been taken to vilify Reynolds' character, and do away his teſtimony, he ſaw but one point capable of ſhaking his credit, that of the contradiction between him and Cornet Witherington, reſpecting the period of his mother ſurviving the medicine which was adminiſtered to her by Reynolds, and the number of days in which they differed as to wrapping her corpſe in a pitched ſheet ; but if the idea of Reynolds having adminiſtered poiſon to her had prevailed in the family at the time of her death, why not examine her attending phyſician and apothecary, and proſecute Reynolds for murder, if their informations authoriſed it?

The Jury retired, and the priſoner claimed the attention of the court, to know if he might be permitted to ſend up to the jury a written declaration from John M'Cann--- "that Bond had no knowledge of the motive or object of the meeting held at his houſe?" Judge Chamberlaine replied, it was not admiſſible in law, elſe he ſhould be gratified.

The

The jury in a very few minutes returned with a verdict---*guilty.*

Judge Day, preparatory to paſſing ſentence, made an affecting addreſs, andthen pronounced the priſoner's awful doom in the ordinary form, the priſoner bowed reſpectfully, and received it with apparent reſignation. His whole deportment excited general ſympathy.

A reſpite of the ſentence was granted by government on certain terms.

Counſel for the Crown---Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Prime Serjeant, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Saurin, Mr. Standiſh O'Grady, Mr. Mayne, Mr. Webber.——Agent; Thomas Kemmis.

Counſel for the priſoner, aſsigned by the court---Mr. Curran, Mr. G. Ponſonby——Aſsiſtant counſel; Mr. M'Nally, Mr. Green.---Agent; Mr. Johnſton.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Public addreſs to Wm. Cope Eſq.—Apprehenſion of a Union with Great Britain.—Reſolutions in conſequence thereof by the City of Dublin, the Iriſh Bar, &c.—Opening of the ſeſſion in January, 1799.—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech.—The Union propoſed—Members who voted for and againſt that meaſure.—Cloſe of the ſeſſion.—Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech.—Prorogation.

FROM the preceding ſketches we have given of ſome State Trials on the ſubject of the Rebellion in 1798, the reader muſt have become acquainted with the nature and extent of that conſpiracy, and ſeveral particulars relative to implicated parties. He muſt have obſerved that the country was much indebted for its ſecurity to the exertions of Wm. Cope, Eſq. who gave ſeaſonable intimation of the intended miſchief---and it is but juſtice to that gentleman to take notice of the public thanks which he received on that occaſion.

At a General Aſſembly of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, held on the 19th Day of October, 1798.

It was Reſolved Unanimouſly, That the following Addreſs ſhould be preſented to William Cope, Eſq.

"Sir,

"We the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commons of the city of Dublin, in Common Council aſſembled, preſent

you our grateful thanks for the ſignal ſervices rendered by you to this kingdom; by your exertions, under Divine Providence, it has been ſaved from a foul and dark conſpiracy, long carried on by the implacable enemy of theſe realms, in conjunction with a traitorous band of rebels, for the total extinction of our happy conſtitution, and for the ſeparation of this his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland from Great Britain, and devoting its loyal inhabitants to maſſacre and deſtruction."

"We ſhould be deficient in the common feelings of gratitude for our preſervation, if on this occaſion, we omitted to expreſs our obligations, by this public mark of our reſpect."

"Accept then, Sir, this teſtimony of our feeling for the great and important ſervices you have rendered your king and country, which the nation feels in common with us, in the protection it continues to enjoy under our happy conſtitution."

"In witneſs whereof the common ſeal of ſaid city is hereto affixed, the day and year aforeſaid.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Gentlemen of the Committee who prepared ſaid Addreſs, having waited on Mr. Cope therewith, he returned the following Anſwer:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"This very high acknowledgment from ſo revered and reſpectable a part of the conſtitution as the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons and Citizens of the city of Dublin, in Common Council aſſembled, fills me with awe and reverence.

The

" The importance of the ſervice which you have thought proper thus honourably to record, I feel in common with the reſt of my loyal countrymen, and can never be ſufficiently thankful to that Divine Providence, who wonderfully interpoſed and made me the humble inſtrument, under his directing influence, to ſave my fellow citizens from maſſacre, and the kingdom from deſolation.

" I ſhall ever retain a due ſenſe of my obligations to the Corporation of the city of Dublin, and have the honour to be,"

My Lord and Gentlemen,
Your ever obliged,
And devoted faithful
Servant,
WILLIAM COPE."

We come now to the ſubject of the *Union* with Great Britain; the apprehenſion of which excited, on its earlieſt intimation, much diſturbance and indignation in the public mind. The following proceedings (amonſt others) took place previous to its parliamentary diſcuſſion.

In purſuance of a requiſition ſigned by 27 lawyers of the firſt reſpectability and character of the profeſſion, a meeting of the Iriſh Bar took place on Sunday the 9th of December, at the Exhibition Houſe in William-ſtreet, to deliberate on the queſtion of an Union between this kingdom and the kingdom of Great Britain, by an incorporation of the legiſlature. The meeting was very numerous, and obliged to be adjourned from the Courts to the above place.

Ambroſe Smith, Eſq. Father of the Bar, being called to the Chair, Mr. Saurin opened the buſineſs, and after ſtating the queſtion with his uſual ability, as to the meaſure and period of propoſing it, when the country was but juſt

delivered from a rebellion the moſt ſavage that ever ſcourged a country, moved, "That the *meaſure of a legiſlative Union of this kingdom and Great Britain is an innovation, which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propoſe at the preſent juncture, to this country.*"

Mr. Spencer (a gentleman who had taken a very laudable lead in oppoſing this meaſure, and wrote a pamphlet on the ſubject) ſeconded the reſolution, and ſupported it in a ſpeech of ſome length, and ſtrong reaſoning.

Mr. St. George Daly, moved, That the further conſideration of this reſolution ſhould be adjourned for a month, and was ſeconded by Mr. Jameſon.

On this a long, ſpirited, and moſt animated debate took place, which laſted for many hours, in which not only the propriety of the adjournment, but the merits of the queſtion, were in many inſtances moſt ably diſcuſſed. The ſupporters of the adjournment, and conſequently thoſe who oppoſed the reſolution moved by Mr. Saurin, were, Mr. St. George Daly, Mr. Jameſon, Mr. T. Grady, Mr. John Beresford, (ſon to the Archbiſhop of Tuam) Mr. J. W. Stokes, Mr. Gerahty, Mr. M'Clelland, and Mr. Webber. On the other ſide were Mr. Saurin, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Peter Burrowes, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Driſcoll, Mr. Goold, Mr. W. Bellew, Mr. Orr, Mr. Leader, Mr. Plunket, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. Francis Dobbs.

At eight o'clock a diviſion took place.

Ayes for the adjournment - -	32
Noes - - - -	166
Majority - - -	134

On which the following reſolutions were put and carried,

Reſolved,

Reſolved, "*That the meaſure of a legiſlative Union of this kingdom and Great Britain, is an innovation which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propoſe at the preſent juncture of the country.*"

It was then reſolved, "*That the Chairman do leave the Chair, and that* William Saurin, Eſq. *do take the ſame.*"

Reſolved, "*That the thanks of this Meeting be preſented to our worthy Father,* Ambroſe Smith, Eſq. *for his very proper conduct in the Chair.*"

Reſolved, "*That the following reſolutions be publiſhed.*

Signed by Order,

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, Sec."

CITY OF DUBLIN.

Poſt Aſſembly of the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, held at the Exhibition Houſe, William-Street, on Monday the 17th Day of December, 1798.

"A variety of rumours being in circulation, that an intended Union of this kingdom with Great Britain was in agitation, induced a General Aſſembly, of this city, to call on the Lord Mayor, to hold a Poſt Aſſembly, for the purpoſe of taking ſaid queſtion into conſideration."

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That by the ſpirited exertions of the people and parliament of this kingdom, the trade and conſtitution thereof were ſettled on principles ſo liberal, that the nation has riſen ever ſince rapidly in wealth and conſequence.

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That having boldly defended the conſtitution in King, Lords and Commons, againſt the open and ſecret abetters of rebellion; we are determined

ſteadily

ſteadily to oppoſe any attempt that may be made, to ſurrender the free legiſlation of this kingdom, by uniting it with the legiſlature of Great Britain."

Ordered, That ſaid reſolutions be publiſhed.

Signed by order,
ALLEN and GREEN,
Town Clerks

At a very numerous and reſpectable Meeting of the Bankers and Merchants of the City of Dublin, held at the Manſion-houſe, on Tueſday the 18th of December, 1798.

The Right Honourable the Lord Mayor in the Chair.

The following reſolutions were unanimouſly agreed to:

"Reſolved, That ſince the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in the year 1782, to legiſlate for Ireland, the commerce and proſperity of this kingdom have eminently increaſed."

"Reſolved, That we attribute theſe bleſſings under Providence, and the gracious favour of our beloved Sovereign, to the wiſdom of the Iriſh parliament."

"Reſolved, That we look with abhorrence on any attempt to deprive the people of Ireland of their parliament, and thereby of their conſtitutional right, and immediate power to legiſlate for themſelves."

"Reſolved, That impreſſed with every ſentiment of loyalty to our King, and affectionate attachment to Britiſh connection, we conceive, that to agitate in parliament a queſtion of the legiſlative Union between this kingdom and Great Britain, would be highly dangerous and impolitic."

The Lord Mayor having left the Chair, and William D Latouche, Eſq. being requeſted to take it,

Reſolved

" Reſolved Unanimouſly, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, for his readineſs in calling the Meeting, and for his Lordſhip's very proper conduct in the Chair."

The Lord Mayor having reſumed the Chair,

" Reſolved Unanimouſly, That his Lordſhip be requeſted to ſign theſe Reſolutions in the name of the Bankers and Merchants of Dublin, and that the ſame be publiſhed in all the public papers."

THOMAS ANDREWS, Mayor.

On the 22d, January, 1799, his Excellency Lord Cornwallis (then Lord Lieutenant) open'd a new ſeſſion of Parliament with the following ſpeech.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I have received his Majeſty's commands to meet you in Parliament."

" I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled atchievements of the detachment of his Majeſty's fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord Nelſon, on the total defeat of the French ſquadron off the coaſts of this kingdom by that under the command of Sir John Borlaſe Warren, and on the brilliant and important conqueſt of Minorca; theſe events, while they afford to us, in common with every other deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects, matter of juſt pride and ſatisfaction, muſt at the ſame time give confidence to other powers, and ſhew to all Europe the beneficial effects of a ſyſtem of vigour and exertion directed with manly perſeverance againſt the deſtructive projects of the common enemy."

" I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you that a ſpirit of diſaffection ſtill prevails in ſeveral parts of this kingdom,

kingdom, and that the ſecret agents of the enemy are active in raiſing an expectation of freſh aſſiſtance from France."

"In this ſituation, and under the evident neceſſityof continuing the war with vigour, his Majeſty firmly relies upon that ſpirit and magnanimity which have hitherto marked all your exertions in ſupport of the honour of his crown, of the intereſts of this kingdom, and of the general cauſe of the empire."

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*,

"I have ordered the public accounts and eſtimates to be laid before you, and as I am confident your wiſdom will raiſe the ſupplies which may be neceſſary, in the manner leaſt burthenſome to the ſubject, ſo you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and economical application."

"It is with great ſatisfaction I obſerve that, notwithſtanding our internal calamities, this kingdom, blended as its intereſts are in the general proſperity of the empire, has participated in the effects of the encreaſing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that the revenues and trade have encreaſed."

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have ſo long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and ſupport. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Proteſtant charter ſchools and other charitable inſtitutions, will require, and will I am ſure continue to receive, that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of Parliament. I am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give further attention to the juſt and honourable claims of thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty during the rebellion."

"His

" His Majeſty depends upon your perſevering energy to repreſs by every wiſe effort the ſpirit of diſaffection which ſtill requires the exerciſe of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where the occaſions have required it, to acts of indiſpenſable ſeverity, I have not been inattentive to the ſuggeſtions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal juſtice, and the neceſſary exertions of the powers of the ſtate, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be conſiſtent with the public ſafety."

" In the general cauſe which engages the empire our proſpect is highly encouraging, but in proportion as a ſucceſsful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts ſhould be redoubled in order to ſecure it "

" The zeal of his Majeſty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honourable co-operation of the Britiſh fencibles and militia, and the activity, ſkill and valour of his Majeſty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy ; but the more I have reflected on the ſituation and circumſtances of this kingdom, conſidering on the one hand the ſtrength and ſtability of Great Britain, and on the other thoſe diviſions which have ſhaken Ireland to its foundations, the more anxious I am for ſome permanent adjuſtment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our ſiſter kingdom to every part of this iſland."

" The unremitting induſtry, with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a ſeparation of this kingdom from Great Britain, muſt have engaged your particular attention, and *his Majeſty commands me to expreſs his anxious hope that this conſideration, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion eſſential to their common*

common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power and the resources of the British empire."

On the 24th of Jan. 1799, the committee appointed to draw up an address to his Majesty, reported they had drawn up the following:

Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to approach your Majesty with the most cordial expressions of duty, loyalty, and attachment to your Majesty's sacred person, family and government,

We sincerely anticipate in the satisfaction which your Majesty must feel in the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled atchievement of the detachment of your Majesty's fleet under the command of rear Admiral Lord Nelson, on the total defeat of the French squadron off the coasts of this kingdom by that under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, and on the brilliant and important conquest of Minorca; these events, while they afford to us in common with every other description of your Majesty's subjects, matter of just and honorable pride, are calculated to inspire other powers with confidence, and manifest to all Europe that a system of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perseverance against the destructive projects of the common enemy, may be attended with the most beneficial consequences."

"We most sincerely lament that in several parts of this kingdom a spirit of disaffection still exists, and that the expectation of foreign assistance is kept alive among the lower classes by the secret agents of France; but your Majesty may rely upon the firmness of our determination to counteract every machination of the enemy, and to continue our exertions

tions with unabated vigour in support of the honour of your crown, the interests of this kingdom and the general cause of the empire."

"We shall take into consideration the public accounts and the estimates for the ensuing year, and in granting the necessary supplies we shall endeavour to render them as little burthensome to the people as possible; it will be our desire to make them adequate to the necessary exigencies of the state, as we are confident they will be prudently and œconomically applied."

"In reflecting on the general prosperity of the empire we feel with true satisfaction that notwithstanding our internal calamities the revenue and trade of this kingdom have encreased, and that our interests are so blended with those of Great Britain as to produce a participation in the general prosperity."

"Your Majesty may be assured that the Protestant charter schools and other charitable institutions, which have usually received the aid of Parliament, will continue to be encouraged by our support, and that we shall not fail in our attention to the agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly to the linen manufacture of this kingdom; the honourable claims of those who have suffered from their loyalty during the rebellion, as they have interested your Majesty's humane regard, are recommended to our liberality by every endearingm otive."

"We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall direct our efforts with persevering energy for repressing that spirit of disaffection which still requires extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects; we acknowledge the acts of severity which have been exercised to be indispensable, whilst we are sensible that the rigours of penal justice have been tempered with as much forbearance and lenity as the public safety would admit."

"We

"We rejoice, that in the general cauſe which engages the empire, our proſpects are highly improved; and we feel the warmeſt incentives to redouble our exertions, as the probability is increaſed of bringing the war to a ſucceſsful termination."

"It muſt be highly gratifying to your Majeſty to reflect on that zeal which has been manifeſted by the regular and militia forces, and by that gallantry which has diſtinguiſhed the yeomanry. We cannot too highly applaud their conduct, and when we conſider the honorable and effectual aſſiſtance of the Britiſh fencibles and militia, and the activity, ſkill and valour of your Majeſty's fleets, we doubt not that every future effort of the enemy will be fruſtrated; but reflecting on the ſituation and circumſtances of this kingdom, and conſidering on the one hand the ſtrength and ſtability of Great Britain, and on the other thoſe diviſions which have ſhaken this kingdom to its foundations, we ſhould feel happy if any adjuſtment can be deviſed which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our ſiſter kingdom to every part of this Iſland."

* "The unremitting activity, with which our enemies per-
"ſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a
"ſeparation of this kingdom from Great Britain, muſt con-
"ſtantly engage our moſt earneſt attention; and as your
"Majeſty has condeſcended to expreſs an anxious hope that
"this circumſtance, joined to the ſentiment of mutual af-
"fection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the Parliament
"in

* The Queſtion being put, that this paragraph ſtand part of the addreſs, the houſe divided.

Ayes	116
Noes	111
Majority againſt a Union	5

Tellers for the Noes, Sir L. Parſons, and D. B. Daly.
Tellers for the Ayes, James Mc. Clelland, and William Smith.

" in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of " maintaining and improving a connexion eſſential to their " common ſecurity, and of conſolidating, as far as poſſible, " into one firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power " and the reſources of the Britiſh Empire, we ſhall not fail " to give the fulleſt conſideration to a communication of " ſuch momentous importance."

" We return your Majeſty our ſincereſt thanks for continuing the Marquis Cornwallis in the government of this kingdom, whoſe eminent military talents, and whoſe experienced wiſdom and benevolence are ſo peculiarly calculated to inſpire your Majeſty's faithful people with confidence at this important criſis."

The meaſure of the Union being at length brought forward, was this ſeſſion rejected,—we cannot enter minutely into a report of the debate on it, which would exceed our limits, as we ſhall find it was again agitated and carried in the ſeſſion following, and the arguments for and againſt it, were at each time founded on much the ſame principles.—The following is a liſt of the members who voted on this occaſion in the ſeſſion of 1799.

The following are thoſe who voted *againſt* an *Union*.

Hon. A. Acheſon,	Robert Crowe	James Cane
W. C. Alcock	Lord Viſc. Corry	Lord Caulfield
M. Archdall	Lord Clements	D. B. Daly
David Babington	Lord Cole	Richard Dawſon
John Bagwell	Hon. Col. Cole	Arthur Dawſon
John Ball	Geo. Crookſhank	Francis Dobbs
Jonah Barrington	Hon. A. Creighton	Rich. L. Edgeworth
J. C. Beresford	Hon. J. Creighton	John Egan
Arth. Browne	Joſ. Edw. Cooper	George Evans
Wm. Burton	Henry Coddington	Sir John Freke, Bt. Fred.

Fred. J. Falkiner	Edward Lee	W. C. Plunket
R. Ho. J. Fitzgerald	Sir Tho. Lighton	William Ruxton
W. C. Forteſcue	A. Mt. Gomery	Abel Ram
Hon. Tho. Foſter	Sir John M'Cartney	Guſt. Rochfort
Arthur French	Col. John Maxwell	John S. Rochfort
William Gore	Wm. Tho. Monſell	Sir. W. Richardſon
Ham. Gorges	Arthur Moore	Fr. Saunderſon
Hans Hamilton	Lord Mathew	W. Smyth, *Weſtm.*
Wm. Handcock	John Metge	James Stewart
Edw. Hardman	Richard Neville	Henry Stewart
Francis Hardy	Thomas Newenham	Sir R. St. George
Sir Joſeph Hoare	Charl. O'Hara	Hon. B Stratford
Alex. Hamilton	Henry Osborne	Ho. Barry St. Leger
Ho. A. C. Hamilton	Sir Edw. O'Brien	Nath. Sneyd
Sir Fran. Hopkins	Hon. W. O'Callaghan	H. W. J. Skeffington
Gilbert King		Thomas Stannus
Charles King	Hugh O'Donel	Fran. Savage
Hon. Robert King	James M. O'Donel	Wm. Tighe
Rt. Hon. Hen. King	Rt. Hon. Geo. Ogle	Henry Tighe
John King	Rt. Hon. W. Brab. Ponſonby	Hon. R. Trench
Ld. Viſ. Kingsboro'		John Taylor
Hon. G. Knox	Geo. Ponſonby	Hon. R. Taylor
Francis Knox	Major W. Ponſonby	Tho. Townſend
John Latouche	John Preſton	Charles Vereker
John Latouche, jun.	Joſeph Preſton	Owen Wyne
Robt. Latouche	Sir John Parnel	John Waller
Dav. Latouche	Richard Power	E. D. Wilſon
C. P. Leſlie	Sir L. Parſons	[111]

The following are thoſe who voted *for* an *Union*.

H. Alexander	Sir J. Blaquiere	Broderick Chinnery
R. Alexander	Ant. Botet	Rt. H. T. Conolly
R. Anneſley	James Boyd	E. Cooke
R. Archdail	Lord Boyle	C. H. Coote
Wm. Bailey	Rt. H. D. Browne	R. Cornwall
Rt. Ho. J. Bereſford	Stewart Bruce	Rt. H. I. Corry
J. Beresford, Jun.	George Burdett	Sir J. Cotter
Marcus Beresford,	Tho, Burgh	R. Cotter
J. Bingham	Ld, Caſtlereagh	Wm. Croſbie
J. H. Blake	Sir H. Cavendiſh	St. George Daly
W. Blakeney	Geo. Cavendiſh	Wm. Elliot

Gen. Euſtace	William Knott	Chas. Oſborne
Ld. Chas. Fitzgerald	Andrew Knox	T. Packenham
A. Ferguſon	James Knox	Fred. Trench
Maur. Fitzgerald	Sir H. Langriſhe	Sir Boyle Roche
R. Uni. Fitzgerald	Thos. Lindſay, *ſen.*	R. Rutledge
Hon. W. Forward	Thos. Lindſay, *jun.*	Sir Geo. Shee
Sir C. Forteſcue	M. Longfield	H. Skeffington
J. Galbraith	John Longfield	Wm. Smith
H. D. Grady	Capt. J. Longfield	Henry M. Sandford
Richard Hare	Francis M'Namara	Edmond Stanley
F. Hare	Roſs Mahon	John Staples
Hugh Howard	Richard Martin	John Stewart
Col. B Henniker	Rt. Ho. J. M. Maſon	John Stratton
Peter Holmes	H. Dillon Maſſey	Charles Tottenham
Hon F. Hutchinſon	James M'Cleland	Rt. Hon. J. Toler
Hon. J. Hutchinſon	E. A. M'Naghten	J. Townſend
Col. G. Jackſon	Lorenzo Moore	Lord Tyrone
Denham Jephſon	Stephen Moore	R. Uniacke
Hon. John Jocelyn	Rt. H. Lodge Morres	J. O. Vandeleur
Robert Johnſon	Sir R. Muſgrave	James Verner
Walter Jones	Thos. Neſbit	Lt. Col. Wemys
John Keane	Sir W. Newcomen	Henry Weſtenra
James Kearny	W. Odell	Ben. B. Woodward
Henry Kemmis	C. M. Ormſby	W. Yelverton

[116]

The rejection of the Union was ſo highly approved of by the kingdom in general, that public addreſſes were voted from all parts to thoſe who had oppoſed it in parliament—particularly to Earl Charlemont, Sir John Parnel, Mr. Foſter, Mr. Saurin, Mr. Barrington, &c. &c.

On the 1ſt June 1799 his Excellency Earl Cornwallis cloſed the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I have received his Majeſty's commands to releaſe you from your further attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts of the kingdom, which are ſtill agitated by the projects of the diſaffected, may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection."

" I am at the ſame time to thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the continued and undiminiſhed zeal which you have manifeſted for counteracting the wicked plots of inter-

nal

nal conſpirators, and for the defeat of every hoſtile attempt which the deſperation of the enemy may meditate."

"The ſituation of affairs on the Continent has been materially improved in the period which has elapſed ſince the commencement of the ſeſſion. The ſignal advantages already obtained by the Auſtrian arms, and the vigorous and decifive exertions on the part of Ruſſia, muſt be ſubjects of great joy and congratulation to all who can eſtimate the value of eſtabliſhed order and legitimate government. I know the pleaſure you muſt derive from the conſoling proſpect that Europe may be ultimately reſcued from the ravaging arms, and the deſolating principles of France."

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I thank, you, in his Majeſty's name, for the large and extraordinary ſupply which you have ſo honourably voted to meet every wiſh of the government and every exigency of the ſtate. You muſt reflect with the higheſt ſatisfaction on the liberal co-operation which in every moment of difficulty you have experienced from the Britiſh parliament; and I have the fulleſt confidence that the public ſpirit of this country will not be found inferior to that of Great-Britain in ſubmitting to ſuch temporary burthen as the ſafety of the community may require."

"I ſincerely regret that ſo extenſive a demand ſhould be made upon your liberality, but when no meaſure has been left untried by the malice of our enemies to ſever this kingdom from the Britiſh empire, and to involve you in all the horrors of rebellion and maſſacre, you have diſplayed true wiſdom in proportioning your exertions to the bleſſings you have to preſerve, and the miſeries uo have to avert."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am to return you his Majeſty's acknowledgments for the many important meaſures you have accompliſhed this ſeſſion. Your liberality and juſtice to thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty, will confirm the exertions of the well-diſpoſed; and your judicious proviſions for the regulation

of

of paper currency are calculated to preſerve its credit from depreciation without diminiſhing the neceſſary circulations.

I am ſenſible of the confidence which you have repoſed in me, by enabling me to exerciſe the powers of martial law in the manner beſt adapted to the preſent circumſtances of the country. It will be my care to employ thoſe powers for the purpoſes for which they were given, by taking the moſt effectual and ſummary meaſures for the ſuppreſſion and puniſhment of rebellious proceedings, interfering as little as poſſible with the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice among his Majeſty's peaceable ſubjects.

I have his Majeſty's particular commands to acquaint you, that a joint addreſs of the two Houſes of parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his Majeſty, accompanied by Reſolutions propoſing and recommending a complete and entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be eſtabliſhed by the mutual conſent of both parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the ſimilarity of laws, conſtitution and government, and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections. His Majeſty will receive the greateſt ſatisfaction in witneſſing the accompliſhment of a ſyſtem, which by allaying the unhappy diſtractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the ſecurity, wealth and commerce of his reſpective kingdoms, muſt afford them at all times, and eſpecially in the preſent moment, the beſt means of jointly oppoſing an effectual reſiſtance to the deſtructive projects of foreign and domeſtic enemies; and his Majeſty as the common father of his people muſt look forward with earneſt anxiety to the moment, when in conformity to the ſentiments, wiſhes and real intereſts of his ſubjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inſeparably united in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of a free conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honour and dignity of his Majeſty's crown, and in the preſervation and advancement of the welfare and proſperity of the whole Britiſh empire.

I feel moſt ſenſibly the arduous ſituation in which I am placed, and the weight of the truſt which his Majeſty has impoſed upon me at this moſt important criſis, but if I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to the ſucceſs of this great meaſure, I ſhall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the ſervice of my country amply repaid, and ſhall retire with the conſcious ſatisfaction, that I have had ſome ſhare in averting from his Majeſty's dominions thoſe dangers and calamities which have overſpread ſo large a portion of Europe.

The Parliament was then prorogued to the 17th July following.

CHAP

CHAP. XVII.

Commencement of the seſſion in January 1800.—*Lord Lieutenant's Speech.*—*Debates thereon.*—*Addreſs to his Majeſty propoſed, debates on motion, to amend ſame.*—*Addreſs carried.*—*Proceeding relative to the Union*—*Proteſt of the Lords.*—*Articles of the Union.*—*Concluſion of the ſeſſion.*

ON Wedneſday *January* 15, 1800, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant went in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, and delivered the following ſpeech:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have received his Majeſty's commands to aſſemble you in Parliament."

"Upon a review of the important and glorious events that have diſtinguiſhed the period which has elapſed ſince I laſt addreſſed you, the moſt gratifying and encouraging reflections preſent themſelves to our conſideration."

"By the brilliant courſe of victories atchieved by the combined Imperial armies, the various kingdoms and ſtates of Italy have been delivered from the ravages and the tyranny of the French."

"The throne of Naples and our friendly connection with that kingdom have been reſtored."

"The French expedition to Egypt has been checked in its career by the exertions of the Turkiſh arms, aſſiſted by a ſmall detachment of his majeſty's forces, and the gallantry of their heroic commander."

"The hoſtile plans of the common enemy in India have terminated in the total deſtruction of the power which had been miſled by their artifices, and through the timely, vigorous and deciſive counſels of the Marquis Welleſley, and the conſummate ſkill and valour of his Majeſty's generals, officers and troops, the Britiſh poſſeſſions in that quarter of the globe have been beneficially extended and effectually ſecured."

"By the deſcent of his Majeſty's forces and of his Ruſſian allies on the coaſt of Holland, the Dutch fleet has been happily reſcued from the power of the enemy; and although the ſeaſon, peculiarly unfavourable to military operations, produced the neceſſity of relinquiſhing an enterprize ſo fortunately begun, and prevented the complete accompliſhment of his Majeſty's views, yet the reſult of that expedition has been peculiarly beneficial to this kingdom, in removing all fear of an attack on our coaſts from a quarter whence it had been ſo often planned, and in enabling his Majeſty's fleets to direct their vigilance excluſively to the ſingle port from which the enemy can attack this country with any hope even of a temporary ſucceſs.'

"My utmoſt care has been exerted to carry into execution the extraordinary powers which you have committed to my diſcretion with vigour, and at the ſame time with moderation; all tendency to inſurrection has been effectually repreſſed, but it gives me true concern to acquaint you, that the painful neceſſity of acting with ſeverity has been too frequently impoſed upon me; and although public tranquillity has been in a great meaſure reſtored, yet I have to lament that a diſpoſition to outrage and conſpiracy ſtill continues in ſeveral diſtricts; that much induſtry is uſed to keep alive the ſpirit of diſaffection, and to encourage among the lower claſſes the hopes of French aſſiſtance."

"I truſt that the recent revolution in France cannot fail to open the eyes of ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects as have been deluded by the artifices which have been unremittingly employed

employed to withdraw them from their allegiance, and that it will reſtore and increaſe the love of conſtitutional order and of regulated freedom, by demonſtrating that the principles of falſe liberty tend ultimately to deſpotiſm, and that the criminal ſtruggles of democratic faction naturally cloſe in military uſurpation."

"So long as the French government, under whatever form it exerts its influence, ſhall perſevere in ſchemes of deſtruction and projects of ambition ſubverſive at once of the liberties of Europe and of the ſecurity of his Majeſty's dominions, there can be no wiſe alternative, but to proſecute the war with encreaſing energy. It is by great exertions alone that their views of aggrandiſement can be fruſtrated, or a ſolid peace procured."

"His Majeſty has therefore availed himſelf, with peculiar ſatisfaction, of the cordial and great aſſiſtance which has been afforded him by his faithful ally the Emperor of Ruſſia, and has thought right to make every exertion for augmenting the diſpoſable military force of his own dominions: his Majeſty therefore has been highly gratified in accepting the ſervices ſo generouſly offered by his Engliſh militia, and I am to expreſs to you the entire confidence which his Majeſty feels that the zeal and loyalty of his militia of this kingdom, in forwarding, at this important criſis, the active operations of the empire, will not be leſs prompt and conſpicuous."

"The apprehenſion of general ſcarcity which ſome time ſince took place, called for my early attention to this moſt important ſubject, and I was induced, with the advice of the council, to offer premiums for the early importation of grain. This meaſure will, I flatter myſelf, meet your approbation, and I have full confidence in your wiſdom, if it ſhall be neceſſary to reſort to any further extraordinary means for procuring a ſupply."

"*Gentlemen,*

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

" The evident neceſſity of ſecuring this kingdom from every danger, whether foreign or domeſtic, and of rendering the ſucceſs of invaſion, if attempted, impracticable, will demonſtrate to you the wiſdom of continuing that enlarged ſyſtem of defence you have ſo wiſely adopted."

" I have therefore ordered the public accounts and eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you, and have the fulleſt confidence that in the ſupply which ſuch a ſituation ſhall appear to you to require, you will equally conſult the ſafety of the kingdom and the honour of his Majeſty's government."

" I am induced to hope that the great increaſe of the revenue which has taken place in the preſent year may enable you to raiſe the ſums which may be wanted for the current ſervices without any diſtreſſing addition to the burthens of the people."

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I recommend to your uſual attention the agriculture, the manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of Ireland; and I doubt not that the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and thoſe public inſtitutions, whether of charity or education, which have been protected by your liberality, will ſtill receive a judicious encouragement."

" It will be for your wiſdom to conſider how far it will be neceſſary to continue any of thoſe extraordinary powers with which you have ſtrengthened the authority of his Majeſty's government for the more effectual ſuppreſſion and puniſhment of rebellious conſpiracy and outrage."

" His Majeſty places the moſt entire reliance upon your firmneſs and wiſdom, and he has no doubt that you will anxiouſly purſue ſuch meaſures as ſhall be beſt calculated for bringing the preſent war to an honourable termination, and for reſtoring the country to permanent tranquillity."

" It

"It will be my conſtant object to attend to your ſuggeſtions and advice, that I may by this means moſt beneficially accompliſh the commands I have received from his Majeſty, and moſt effectually forward the intereſts and happineſs of this kingdom."

The *Speaker* now read a copy of the foregoing Speech which had been delivered from the Throne—on which

Lord *Loftus* moved an Addreſs;—ſeconded by Colonel *Croſbie*. Upon the queſtion being put,

Sir *L. Parſons* roſe—He began by directing the Clerk to read the Speeches delivered by Lord Cornwallis at opening and cloſing the laſt ſeſſion.

Sir Laurence then proceeded—He obſerved "that when at the cloſe of laſt ſeſſion a recommendation on the ſubject of Union had been made from the Throne, but all deliberation on the Meſſage had been prevented by a ſudden prorogation, and the Speech juſt delivered had ſtudiouſly avoided all mention of the meaſure, was there a man in the Houſe who did not know the reaſon? The meaſure had been fully and fairly rejected laſt ſeſſion—the Miniſter waited now to get if poſſible a *packed* Parliament to deprive Ireland of her ancient Conſtitution—this was a plain, undeniable, flagrant fact. Was the Houſe to wait until his practices ſhould be matured? Were they to remain inactive while his machinations were going on—while the ſerpent was collecting into his coils to ſpring upon them with greater vehemence? Were they to remain ſpiritleſs and dead, without courage to attack him? He would not, he ſaid, blame the Miniſter for urging a meaſure which he might think beneficial to the country, but he ſhould do it in a fair, free, uncontaminated manner; this was not the caſe here—means were employed to carry the meaſure, which, if it even were of advantage to the country, would pollute all the benefits it could produce. The Repreſentatives of the People might be diſmiſſed, it mattered not whether turned out by the ſword of the army or the gold

of

of the treasury, whether by a Cromwell or a Secretary—the means and the act were still equally abominable. The great charge against James II, was attempting to pack a Parliament. What did Ministers do now? Prostituting the prerogative of the Crown, by appointing men to places so as to pack a Parliament. Had any thing so flagrant occurred in either kingdoms since the reign of James II.? He entreated gentlemen not to hang back through any false delicacy, at a time when it was evident that the Minister was only lying in wait to attack them; the measure of an Union had been rejected last session; it had been condemned by the voice of the nation, and now he was preparing to bring it forward anew, at a time when the country was covered with armies, when martial law was predominant, at the very moment when a formidable invasion was preparing against this country, when apprehensions prevail from without and from within—where the exercise of the public mind is by these circumstances precluded. If the British Minister meant fairly, would he not wait till a moment of peace to propose this measure—a measure, which upon no principle of sound policy could require haste? The Irish Parliament had lasted for 600 years; might it not be allowed to endure for one or two years more, until a period of tranquillity should arise? The reply of the British Minister—(himself the father of Reform)—all the project of Reform within the last ten years had been in time of War—"a time of war is not the time to reform; it is dangerous to alter time:" yet the same Minister pressed on in a time of war a measure which in its effects would produce as fundamental a change in the Legislative Constitutions of both countries, as any reform that had been proposed."

"If it were asked what advantage the British Cabinet would attain by the subjugation of Ireland, he would answer that question by referring to the temerity with which the British Parliament had mentioned the claim of supremacy over that of Ireland—he would know that by an expression

of

of the Duke of Portland to Lord Fitzwilliam in 1795, this meaſure, which was ſaid to grow out of the late rebellion, was then in actual contemplation. In the humbleſt day which Ireland ever had ſeen, ſhe had a Parliament of her own, and the ſupremacy of the Engliſh, though exerciſed, was not acknowledged; but what would be the ſituation of this country returning 100 members to the Britiſh Parliament, merging into a minority one to ſix;—the Britiſh Parliament would rule this country inſtead of Ireland governing herſelf; and what was the conduct of that Parliament, when it had power from the Revolution to 1782? Could any man ſhew one law enacted by them favourable to the intereſts of Ireland, to the rights and liberties of the ſubject, or to the commerce or manufactures of this country? All was a ſeries of pains and penalties, reſtrictions, and limitations! What had the Iriſh Parliament done? It had paſſed the Octennial bill, the Free Trade, the Habeas Corpus, the Independence of Judges; and when the Engliſh Miniſter attempted to paſs a perpetual Mutiny bill, the Iriſh Parliament reſcued our Conſtitution from the uſurpation of England. All theſe were obtained by the victorious ſtruggles of our own Parliament, in ſpite of Britiſh Parliaments and Britiſh miniſters. When had the Britiſh Miniſter received ſuch oppoſition from his own Parliament, as he did from that of Ireland in the caſe of the Propoſitions and the Regency? Impatient as he was of controul, and uſed to rule omnipotent, yet never did he extol the ſuccumbing Parliament of Great Britain, and traduce that of Ireland as a ſervile Aſſembly meriting annihilation! if the argument of ſervility to him were of weight, how much more juſtly would the puniſhment of annihilation be deſerved by that of Great Britain? He was ſorry, he ſaid, to obſerve in this country a diſpoſition to look up to England, and down upon our own, and it was this diſpoſition which encouraged the Britiſh Miniſter in offering to this country a propoſal which would not be made with impunity

impunity to any nation on earth. Were the loweſt Engliſhman to be aſked to tranſport his Parliament to Dublin, and let Ireland rule him, would not his anſwer be laughter and indignation? And yet was not Ireland as free as England? Were not Iriſhmen as capable of governing themſelves and the country as Engliſhmen? He ſaw many of thoſe Engliſhmen, ſome within thoſe walls, and he could not acknowledge their ſuperiority On the firſt ſettlement of Ireland, a Conſtitution with equal rights and powers with thoſe of England was given to us. Upon this principle, the declaration of 1782, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only could Legiſlate for Ireland, was founded. How would this propoſal have been received in 1782?—What bribe could have induced the moſt ſordid man of the Parliament to riſe and propoſe the annihilation of Parliament at that time?"

"Sir Laurence then proceeded to urge the miſchiefs which would be produced by the encreaſe of Abſentees, not only by ſo much wealth as would be drained from the country, but by the loſs of thoſe reſident landholders whom a reſident Parliament had kept in the country, and whom it was the intereſt of England as well as Ireland to keep at home, in order to command that reſpect amongſt the tenants which by enſuring obedience to the laws would eſtabliſh public tranquility. He concluded by moving an Amendment to the Addreſs in nearly the following terms:"

"To aſſure his Majeſty that this his Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, is inſeparably united with Great Britain, and that the ſentiments, wiſhes, and real intereſts of all his ſubjects are that it ſhould continue ſo united in the enjoyment of a free Conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honour and dignity of his Majeſty's Crown, and in the advancement of the welfare of the whole empire; which bleſſings we owe to the ſpirited exertions of an independent reſident Parliament, the paternal kindneſs of his Majeſty, and the liberality of the Britiſh Parliament in 1782—and which we feel ourſelves at

all

all times, and particularly at the preſent moment bound in duty to maintain."

"Lord *Caſtlereagh* ſaid he did not riſe to follow the Hon. Bart. through all the arguments which he had urged againſt the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union, becauſe he did not think this the proper period for that diſcuſſion, moſt of them had been advanced and refuted on a former occaſion —but if his arguments this night were entitled to any weight at all, they went the length of proving this abſurd propoſition, that at all times, and under every poſſible circumſtance, a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain, muſt be in every point of view highly diſadvantageous to Ireland. The Hon. Bart. had expreſſed his ſurpriſe, that after a meſſage had been delivered to Parliament laſt year, communicating the reſolutions of the Britiſh Parliament, a ſudden prorogation took place, and the Parliament of Ireland had not an opportunity of returning an anſwer to that communication; the reaſon was obvious, viz. that the proceedings of the Britiſh Parliament were not laid before the Iriſh Parliament with a view to their being either immediately adopted or rejected, but that they might be in full poſſeſſion of the whole of the ſubject whenever his Majeſty ſhould think proper to call their attention to it. The Hon. Bart. alſo wiſhed to know why the ſubject of the Union was not alluded to in his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech; the reaſon was, becauſe it was intended to make it a ſubject of diſtinct communication to Parliament. Laſt year, when this ſubject was under conſideration, for want of its being thoroughly underſtood, the Parliament did not think proper to entertain the queſtion. The ſubject was then withdrawn, and it was ſtated that it would not again be propoſed without full and fair notice, and until there was reaſon to believe that the Parliament and the country had changed their opinions upon the ſubject. He had withdrawn the queſtion laſt year under a perſuaſion that the meaſure was not completely underſtood, but thinking as he did upon this ſubject,

ſubject, convinced of the many commercial and political advantages it would produce to Ireland, and of its tendency to encreaſe the general ſtrength and proſperity of the empire, and being fully ſatisfied that it was now approved of by a great majority of the people, he ſhould think that he had betrayed his duty to his Sovereign and to his country if he did not again ſubmit the queſtion to the cool and diſpaſſionate conſideration of the Parliament of Ireland. The reaſon, therefore, that the ſubject was not introduced in the Speech was, becauſe a diſtinct communication was to be made to Parliament upon the ſubject, and he ſhould, before the Houſe adjourned, move for a call of this Houſe on Monday fortnight, in order that there might be the fulleſt poſſible attendance upon ſo very important a ſubject. The object of the Hon. Baronet's amendment was not to reject the queſtion after mature inveſtigation, but to extinguiſh it by anticipation, not only without wiſhing for, but abſolutely rejecting every ſpecies of information; It was calculated to draw Parliament into a decided cenſure upon a meaſure which it had not an opportunity of fully inveſtigating, and when ſo great a number of its members were indiſpenſably abſent. He begged to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Houſe, whether it was conſiſtent with propriety, or with their own dignity, to proceed to the diſcuſſion of a queſtion of ſuch infinite magnitude, while ſo many gentlemen of great weight and character were neceſſarily abſent? He begged the Houſe to conſider the nature of the attempt now made, and the peculiar circumſtances under which it was brought forward. He deſired to aſk whether it could be conſidered as reſpectful to his Majeſty, after he had ſtated that it was in his contemplation at ſome future period to bring this queſtion under their conſideration, to declare not only that they would not agree to it, but that they would not condeſcend to diſcuſs it. But whatever opinion gentlemen entertained upon the advantages or diſadvantages which might reſult to Ireland from a Legiſlative Union with

with England, yet they felt, or affected to feel highly ſenſible of the benefits reſulting from an intimate connexion between the two countries. If, however, the Houſe ſhould agree to this amendment, they would deſtroy the only means by which the Parliaments of the two countries could communicate with each other, viz. by the common Sovereign of both countries communicating to one Parliament the proceedings of the other."

"It was as little conſiſtent with the duty they owed the people of Ireland, as that which they owed their Sovereign, to refuſe all conſideration of a ſubject which involved the intereſts and ſafety of both countries, and to decide upon a queſtion, the principles of which they had not inveſtigated, and conſequently could not underſtand. Would it be proper for the Parliament of Ireland to decide upon a queſtion, without conſidering how it would affect the agriculture, the commerce, and all the various intereſts of Ireland? Surely not; nothing but the moſt cool and diſpaſſionate examination could enable the Parliament of Ireland to make up their minds fairly upon this important ſubject. He believed he ſhould not be contradicted when he ſaid, that upon this point the public in general were not fully informed, and he ſhould think himſelf an enemy to his country, if he did not by every means in his power promote diſcuſſion. Nineteen of the moſt conſiderable counties in Ireland, conſtituting above 5-7ths of the kingdom, had come forward, and not only expreſſed their wiſh that a diſcuſſion ſhould take place, but had in the moſt explicit manner declared themſelves in favour of a Legiſlative Union between the two countries. He wiſhed to aſk whether it would be decent to preſs forward this diſcuſſion, when there were ſo many gentlemen abſent who had accepted places under Government?—[*A laugh on the Oppoſition benches*]—Did gentlemen think it conſtitutional, or did they think it right to proceed to the determination of ſo very important a ſubject, when ſo large a proportion of their body was abſent?—If the Hon. Bart had

had postponed his opposition to the measure until it was brought regularly before Parliament for its consideration, he [Lord Castlereagh] would have entered into a full investigation of the subject, and would have stated his reasons for thinking it a measure highly calculated to promote the happiness and encrease the strength of both countries, and would without hesitation have submitted the decision to the wisdom of Parliament. There were two sorts of opponents to the measure of a Legislative Union. He was very ready to admit that some of them had proved themselves upon various occasions to be friends of Ireland and the constitution, but he could not help thinking that they were indiscreet friends to their country, they were endeavouring to play too deep a game, they wanted the constitution of England, but they wanted it without taking the only step which would render the connexion between the two countries solid and permanent."

"He should always look to those gentlemen with respect, but he could not consider them as wise friends to their country as long as they connected themselves with persons of a very different description; they certainly could not hope for the confidence of the loyal part of their fellow subjects. He would not take upon himself to decide whether gentlemen meant to act fairly, but he would say, that their conduct had no tendency to prove that such was their object. There were many gentlemen who had seceded, who had absented themselves from Parliament when measures upon which the preservation of the British Constitution depended were under consideration. They wished to have this country left in a state exposed to continual political contests, and kept as it were in suspence, open to all the changes that might be proposed. They had two or three Constitutions proposed to them, the last one was quite upon French principles, but it met with no support from any friend of the country. They say, do not incorporate with Great Britain, not because it will not be beneficial

ficial to you, but becauſe if you do you will put an end to all my projects, and I ſhall not be able when I chooſe to come down and diſturb the peace of the country by propoſing the adoption of a French Conſtitution. He was juſtified in not conſidering ſome gentlemen as real friends of the Conſtitution, becauſe they did not come down and ſupport in that Houſe the Engliſh Conſtitution againſt the French, when it was a queſtion in that houſe."

"He had hoped, that it was his intention to bring forward the meaſure for the full conſideration of Parliament, and he [Lord C.] relied upon the good ſenſe of the Houſe, that if they did not think it proper to adopt the meaſure, they would at leaſt give it a full and fair conſideration, and entertain it with reſpect. He was ſatisfied that there was no man who wiſhed to act fairly who would not liſten coolly and diſpaſſionately on the queſtion. He ſhould have the honour of making the communication from the Crown, and then would be the time for diſcuſſing the ſubject fully, he ſhould then have the honour of going rather at length into the details upon the queſtion. Every poſſible information would be given, becauſe it was wiſhed that the moſt fair and ample diſcuſſion ſhould take place. Could it for a moment be conſidered that ſuch a meaſure as that which the preſent amendment propoſed could be adopted with any regard to the dignity of Parliament, or would his Majeſty deſiſt from the meaſure becauſe the Parliament of Ireland thus circumſtanced had refuſed to conſider it? At the opening of the laſt ſeſſion they made an attempt, in which they partly ſucceeded, to prevent the diſcuſſion of the queſtion, they ſucceeded becauſe many gentlemen voted againſt the meaſure becauſe they had not fully conſidered it. A Learned and Hon. Gentleman made an attempt to draw the Houſe into a ſolemn pledge never to entertain the queſtion of a Union."

"But the country gentlemen ſaw the object of that motion, and they reſiſted it; they would not bind themſelves

up

up from the future discussion of the question for ever, and the consequence was that they made the Hon. Gen. withdraw his motion. In a very short time, however, after the gentlemen had in the most decided manner opposed all discussion of the question whatever, they felt that they had not managed matters well, they then expressed a wish to discuss the subject, when the Crown under the then circumstances of the case had withdrawn it; but after gentlemen had expressed a wish to argue it last session was it consistent that they should at present refuse all consideration of the subject whatever? Was it consistent that when the public voice had not been spoken upon this subject, gentlemen were willing to argue the question? But now, when so large a part of the kingdom had expressed their approbation of the measure, they did not think it even fit for discussion. Such conduct could not be reconciled to any system of political integrity, though perhaps it might fall under the denomination of political management. Whenever this subject came to be fairly and dispassionately considered, he would venture to predict that that party who had looked so great last sessions, would in a very short time sink as low as they were before this measure was proposed. This certainly was as awful a crisis as this country had ever seen—its welfare, its connexion with Great Britain was at stake, and surely, whatever the decision of the Irish Parliament might ultimately be upon this sebject, that opinion ought to be the result of the most serious and mature deliberation; and if they did consider it in that manner, he would venture to say that their decision would be in favour af a Legislative Union with Great Britain. He would not trouble the House farther at present, except to give his decided negative to the amendment proposed by the Hon. Bart.

Right Hon. Mr. *Latouche* begged permission to call the attention of the House for a moment. After the dangers and perils the loyal people of Ireland had passed through,

it

it was natural (he ſaid) to look eagerly for any meaſure which promiſed ſecurity. Our Conſtitution, our Liberties, our Laws, had nearly been ſurrendered into the hands of French invaders; had it not been for the power of the Almighty, the bravery of the Iriſh loyaliſts, and the valour of the fleets and armies of Great Britain, that houſe and all that was dear to Ireland might now lie at the feet of a French Uſurper. Where then was our ſecurity? In the proved ſtrength of Great Britain; who, for her conduct and exertions in the preſent war, muſt ſtand high in the annals of the world; It was not a war for conqueſt, for power, for dominion, but for the protection of the Territory, the Conſtitution, the Religion, the Liberties, and the ſocial order of the Empire. Since he had ſat in Parliament, (now an uninterrupted ſeries of forty years) he had never omitted an opportunity of inculcating that which was neareſt to his heart—the neceſsity of cultivating a cloſs underſtanding and connexion with Britain; and he ſhould conſider himſelf as deſerting this principle, were he to oppoſe or to neglect the preſent opportunity of more cloſely cementing that good underſtanding. The danger of ſeparation had been with difficulty avoided; the beſt preventative for its recurrence was, he was convinced, a Legiſlative Union. By this meaſure only he was perſuaded, the habits of good order and obedience to the laws, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed Great Britain, could be introduced into this country; and by this meaſure only could be ſet at reſt the claims and pretences of the Roman Catholics, which had ſo long diſtracted this country and produced all our misfortunes."

"Lord *Cole* ſaid he was one of thoſe country gentlemen who had voted againſt pledging the Houſe againſt the diſcuſſion of an Union; he had done ſo, becauſe he did not wiſh to preclude himſelf from an opportunity of obeying his conſtituents, if they ſhould approve the meaſure; they had agreed with him in reprobating it, and the artifices uſed to procure ſupport for it had confirmed him in his oppoſition,

he would oppose it while he had life, at the same time that he disclaimed being of the description alluded to by the Noble Lord, as there was not a man in that House more ready to shed his blood in support of the King and Constitution."

"Mr *J. C. Beresford* said he had acted upon the same principle with the Noble Lord who spoke last, in refusing to pledge himself against discussing the measure, and he had acted in this way the rather, because the Minister had explicitly declared that he would not bring the question forward until the sentiments of the country should be in favour of it. For his part he saw nothing in the present situation of the country which warranted him in changing his opinions. There was but one case in which he could be brought to consent to the surrender of the Irish legislature—that case was the country being possessed by a French army, and he would only consent to it then in the hope that when the island should be rescued, the liberality of Great Britain should restore our Parliament."

"Right Hon. Mr. *Ogle*.—I did not imagine that after the sense of the House had been so clearly ascertained on this subject, the Irish Minister would have been bold enough to introduce, or the British Minister wicked enough to persevere in the measure of Union. My opposition to it does not flow from party or faction. I think it a measure fraught with every ill to Ireland and Great-Britain, a measure whose tendency will be to render the British Minister triumphant over the constitutions of both countries: This was my opinion last Session, and I abominated the measure then, so do I tenfold now, when I know that means have been employed to force the question, neither constitutional nor liberal. If the amendment should not pass, I will beg the Noble Lord to bring the question forward, that he may experience an opposition he does not expect—an opposition to a measure which would give up our Constitution. I would take no unfair advantage; unfair

and

and unconſtitutional as the meaſure is. As to thoſe perſons who oppoſe the meaſure, upon whom the Noble Lord has obſerved with ſuch ſeverity, I do not approve the conduct of many of them no more than he does; they act with me and I co-operate with them in repelling this meaſure; and though I ſhall never connect myſelf with ſuch perſons, yet on this ground I will co-operate with any man, be his virtues or——with every man, with virtues or without them—whether he acts conſcientiouſly or factiouſly, I will avail myſelf of the ſupport of every man who defends that Conſtitution, in the formation of which I bore no vulgar part.

"Right Hon, *D. Browne* ſaid he was a firm friend to the meaſure of an incorporating Union, but even were he not ſo, he would vote againſt the amendment now propoſed: a large proportion of the Parliament and people of Ireland had at leaſt recommended the meaſure as worthy of conſideration, ſo that even though a man ſhould be determined to oppoſe an Union, he might very reaſonably pay ſo much reſpect to thoſe who thought well of the meaſure, as to ſuffer it to be conſidered, it was by diſcuſſion and deliberation that great public queſtions ſhould be advanced, not drowned by alarm, or undermined by ſneaking and cowardly falſhoods, by refuting ſlanders, mean and groſs as the filth and obſcurity from which they ſprung; yet the latter were the weapons with which the opponents of this meaſure aſſailed every man who dared to give his opinion honeſtly and openly in its favour."

"Mr. *Grattan* now aroſe, but from extreme weakneſs, after a ſentence or two in a very low tone of voice, was obliged to continue his ſpeech ſitting.—"If you, Sir, will permit me to addreſs you, weak and exhauſted as I am, and in my ſlow manner, I will give you the teſtimony of one man againſt the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union, a meaſure in which the honour and welfare of this houſe and this country are involved, a meaſure which is nothing leſs

than an alienation of the inheritance of the land, and a surrender, not only of the rights, but the understanding of the people of Ireland. The Hon. Gent. has said, and in that I know he has spoken the sentiments of the Minister at the other side of the water, that the settlement of 1782 was not final. This I must beg leave most strongly and decidedly to controvert. Every expression and idea in that settlement, and every document relating thereto must move its finality. The people wished to have an independent Legislature—to have their country *free*—the people had influence at this time, the Court wished to stop the course of their demands, and the settlement in question was agreed to."

"Here Mr. *Grattan* divided that settlement into seven parts, and minutely went into the history of this great transaction, to shew that the object of the people was to obtain an unqualified and unconditional repeal of the right assumed by the Parliament of Great Britain to legislate for the people of Ireland, and that this claim was unequivocally understood and acknowledged by Great Britain, and that a bill was brought into the English Parliament repealing the 6th of George the first—the act under the sanction of which the Parliament of England assumed the power complained of by this country; I had, continued Mr. Grattan, the honour of framing the address which led to this measure, and I was particularly careful to introduce the words unqualified and unconditional, purposely to exclude any evasion on the part of the British Minister. On the ratification of the independence of this country, the then Representative of his Majesty informed this House, that a perpetual bond had been sealed between the two kingdoms, the adherence to which would form a criterion of happiness to both countries, But now the British Minister has dropped the language of constitutional independence, by which the eternal amity of these kingdoms was to have been secured, and he adopted the language of the Sword—that language in which Lord North conversed with America,

and

and which Mr. Pitt now holds forth to Ireland—that language which loſt to Great Britain her American colonies, and muſt inevitably cauſe her to loſe every thing moſt valuable to her, if perſiſted in. The firſt ſtep taken in the ſettlement of 1782 was an aſſent on the part of Great Britain to the claim of Ireland to legiſlate wholly and excluſively for herſelf---therefore, allowing that any thing ulterior had been meant, it could not poſſibly have been a Legiſlative Union."

"For the Conſtitution obtained in that day, have we maintained a Spaniſh war---an American war---a French war; for that Conſtitution we have exerted every nerve; and exhauſted every reſource, yet this Conſtitution, to the maintenance of which ſo many thouſands of our countrymen have lately bled in the field or upon the ſcaffold, the Miniſter of England now calls "a miſerable imperfection." Such is the language which he holds forth, a language which nothing in the original contract, or the ſubſequent experience of our Conſtitution can warrant."

"To eſtabliſh an Iriſh Republic, or an Imperial Parliament to the deſtruction of the independence of this country, are equally acts of treaſon. I ſay that the Miniſter who enters on a project, however deſignated, which overthrows the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland as now eſtabliſhed, is the worſt of conſpirators againſt the States of both countries, and the only difference between him and the rebel is, that the one loſes his head, and the other loſes his character, and advances his fortune; and if ever the Britiſh Miniſter ſhall be impeached, there will not be wanting arguments to his condemnation."

"But, Sir, the Miniſter now tells you it is neceſſary to have an Imperial Legiſlature, and in the accompliſhment of his ſyſtem, he would mangle one Conſtitution, and deſtroy the other, to take away the only thing which we had acquired as a ſecurity againſt the attempts of any daring Miniſter, and I know no Miniſter more daring than the preſent.

preſent. The principal arguments advanced in ſupport of an Union, are the dangers poſſibly reſulting to the empire in the caſes of war, a Regency, &c."

"Here Mr. *Grattan* divided the latter queſtion into three parts---that of Monarchy, Connection, and Parliament, and by the arguments applied to each proved that no difficulty or danger could ariſe to the Imperial intereſts on theſe heads; and as to war, experience had proved that we not only always concurred in the wars of Great Britain, but chearfully and liberally afforded our ſupplies. The concurrence of Iriſh *independence* was barren, that of Iriſh freedom prolific—ſo much more *polite* is the voluntary aſſiſtance of a free people, than the ſqueezing and excruciation of a dependant State. We are told that this Union will protect Ireland from invaſion—Invaſion, Sir! what invaſion does ſhe fear? The only invaſion which ſhe has to dread is that of her Liberties---Secure to Ireland her Liberty, and vain will be the attempts of foreign hoſtility. The Conſtitution of Ireland is a guarantee for the Empire, and the Empire the guarantee for the Iriſh Conſtitution. The liberties of Ireland form the beſt barrier againſt every foe, but if the miniſter invade them, he will promote that which he affects moſt to fear, for he will alienate the affections of the Iriſh people. Thoſe liberties, Sir, firſt began to be defined by the people of the land-- at the meeting of Dungannon---in the aſſemblies of the different counties, and finally recognized and ratified in the full and ſolemn Aſſembly of the Repreſentatives of this kingdom in Parliament aſſembled. What more could the guardian angel of an Engliſh Legiſlature under the denomination of an Imperial Parliament do for this country? I before ſay, that that Miniſter is extremely unwiſe who attempts to cement the empire by depriving it of its moſt adheſive principle---and, Sir, does the miniſter conceive that the People of this country will fight with a foreign invader as cordially for an Engliſh King, an Engliſh Houſe of Peers, and an Engliſh Houſe

Houſe of Commons, as for thoſe peculiarly their own. I ſay, Sir, that the Miniſter who propoſes ſuch a meaſure as now unfortunately occupies the attention of this Houſe, is more an enemy to that England which he affects with ſo much attachment, than I who oppoſe him. To deſtroy a Conſtitution, Sir, is not difficult. Works of the human mind, like thoſe of art, riſe to perfection by ſmall and low degrees---but any little Miniſter---any petty Lawyer---or any profligate Pander of Power, may readily tear the edifice to the ground. Part not with your Parliament---dear in its acquiſition, and difficult in its recovery. It is the temple of your liberties and of your laws."

"As for this Union, it is no Union, Sir, I ſay, it is no Union, it is the excluſion of your people, and the extinction of yourſelves. This Miniſter holds forth with one hand a premium to the Catholic---with the other a bribe to the Proteſtant. What ſays he to the Catholic? If you behave yourſelf, perhaps, at a future day, you ſhall have, what he does not attempt to define, a promiſe, Sir, for the performance of which there can be no ſecurity, unleſs he, the Miniſter, ſhall be as immortal as the evil which he endeavours to effect."

"He offers diſhonour, not even deluſion, and the infamy of his propoſal is well underſtood by the Catholic---I rejoice that they have come forward in the manner they done, and that the ſpirit with which they have reſiſted is equal to the baſeneſs with which they have been inſulted. What ſay they? and juſtly, "enjoy the Conſtitution, but do it without me"---They would not follow the hearſe of the Conſtitution, and were their claims attended to, they perhaps might have been the ſaviours of its exiſtence. They have qualified themſelves for more than a ſeat in this Houſe."

"You are told that a Union will reform the Iriſh Parliament by the addition of 558 Engliſh and Scotch members, and purify the Britiſh Repreſentation by the commixture of

of 60 Iriſh borough mongers---That you will continue to be repreſented in the United Legiſlatures: but they will be Engliſhmen, for they will be perpetual abſentees; ceaſing to be ſignificant in their own country, they will become Engliſh gentlemen, walking about the ſtreets of London, where they will ſignify nothing. Look at the ſpeech of the Engliſh Miniſter, and of his friends here. Where is the honeſt man who has not been calumniated? Where is the virtuous man, who daring to oppoſe them, has not been diſcountenanced, or the man of integrity whoſe character has not been ſtabbed? The fatal affection of a late Lord Lieutenant terminated in inſult to himſelf, and contumelious misfortune to this devoted country. You may judge what the conduct of the Britiſh Parliament will be, from what it has been. I do ſay, Sir, that an Iriſh Parliament has done more in 15 years for Ireland than England has in an hundred---nay, more benefit in 15 years than England has miſchief---nay, more than Ireland has done benefit to England."

"Sir, the Britiſh Miniſter holds forth bribes to all ranks—he employs the Miniſters of the Goſpel in the offices of the Miniſters of the Devil; proſtituting their ſanctified names to the diſgrace of their character, and bowing them before the Mammon of unrighteouſneſs, to the eternal perdition of themſelves, and the ruin of their country. Give me up your reputation, ſays the Miniſter, and you ſhall be immortalized. Yes, Sir, but it ſhall be the immortality of eternal infamy. Thus was it that Charles I. regimented his holy battalion, but hiſtory records that they fell in his ſeat. The Roman Catholic clergy are given to underſtand they ſhall receive ſalaries, Is it for the exerciſe of their holy functions? No! but it is for their political apoſtaſy."

"I have been told that ſeveral of thoſe Clergymen were rebels---perhaps ſo, I know them not, but what follows? Let rebellion to their King be ſucceeded by treaſon to their country, and the Union of both renders them the certain objects

objects of royal affection. Every former crime is done away, and forgotten in their present infamy. I proposed a plan for tythes---they substituted for my plan an Imperial Parliament---a good substitution perhaps for tythes, but a bad one for honour."

"When the Member harangues on benefits of Union to this country---on the commercial advantages of it to this nation, his fancy floats in the regions of unintelligible Quixotism; he sees, tho' I do not see, capital flowing into this kingdom; he sees the vessels of every foreign nation sailing into Waterford, to Cork, and to Limerick. He soars on the wing of poetic imagery, possessing every property of poetry—its falsehood among the first; but when he comes to detail the disadvantages to result---the taxation which must follow, you will then find all plain matter of fact, and the delusions of Fancy will have ceased for ever. You are told this Union will supply all your wants. Sir, your great, your only want is the residence of the landed interest in this country---a circumstance which it is acknowledged the measure will tend to encrease rather than diminish. That is the capital, Sir, that should be introduced into this kingdom---the introduction of which would enrich this country more than an English factor, and civilize it more than English manners. Whatever you have got has been the gift of a free Parliament, and if you surrender that Parliament you will not only be slaves but you will be idiots. The Minister of England proposes to the Irish Parliament to declare to the world its own incapacity, and calls upon them to register the record of this incapacity in characters of eternal degradation. He tells you that the independence has failed from the corruption of the Parl. He impeaches that Parl, which ought to impeach him; he introduces innovation in parliamentary procedure, more strange than the measure which he has now the presumption to bring before this House, is iniquitous. Sir, I say your Parliament has been the fruitful parent of all the blessings

which

which you at this moment enjoy, and which the Minister would seduce you to surrender. Under its wise and auspicious influence, the linen manufacture has been trebled---the agriculture of the country has been doubled---it has supported, during three wars, the very Minister which now comes forward to rob you of the source of the liberality, and the guardian of your rights."

"Sir, I say, if you surrender you Parliament, you surrender yourselves up to eternal infamy, and your country to irrevocable destruction. I cannot be accused, Sir, of personal interest in the counsel which I give. Weak and exhausted as I am, my strength is small---my days, perhaps, but few---I come here possibly to give my last vote---perhaps to expire on your floor, but it shall be in discharge of the most sacred of duties---the preservation of the liberties of my country, and my last breath shall be offered on the same altar on which Irish independence is to be the victim."

"The question was put, and on a division the numbers were, for the Amendment 96---Against it 138.

On the 5th February, Lord Castlereagh delivered to the House a Message from his Excellency, acquainting the House,

"That his Excellency had in command from his Majesty to lay before them the resolutions of the British Parliament upon the subject of a more intimate Union of the two countries, and to express his Majesty's earnest recommendation that his faithful commons would take those resolutions into their serious consideration, and to communicate the satisfaction his Majesty felt in observing that sentiments in favour of such a measure prevailed so very generally amongst his faithful subjects of Ireland, and gave such hopes of an early completion of that measure, to which his Majesty looks with the utmost earnestness, as the only means by which the interests of all his people can be indissolubly united; and that his Majesty therefore relying upon the wisdom

wisdom of his Parliament and the loyalty of his people for the completion of such a system as shall give to both countries a full and unreserved participation in their mutual advantages of Commerce and Constitution, doubts not that it will establish the freedom and power of the Empire on such a foundation as will not be shaken by either foreign or domestic enemies."

The measure of Union having been (as expected) proposed, and eventually agreed to, the house of Lords and Commons waited on the Lord Lieutenant (27th March) with the articles of Union and the following Address, in order to be transmitted to his Majesty:

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, and knights, citizens, and burgesses, in parliament assembled, having taken into our serious consideration the important subject of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, which was laid before us in his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's message to both houses of parliament on the 5th day of February last, accompanied by the resolutions of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain, proposing that great measure, and by the earnest and solemn recommendation of your Majesty,"

"Deeply impressed with the necessity of rendering the connexion of Great Britain and this kingdom indissoluble, and truly sensible of the repeated efforts which have been made by foreign and domestic enemies to shake that connexion, and to effect their entire separation, we fully approve and cordially embrace the principle of incorporating Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, under your Majesty's auspicious government, by a complete and entire union of their legislatures."

"We

"We do consider the resolutions of the two houses of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of such a settlement.—We have adopted them as our guide in the measures we have pursued, and we now feel it our duty to lay before your Majesty the resolutions to which we have agreed, which resolutions we humbly submit to your Majesty may form the articles of union between Great Britain and Ireland, and which, if approved of by the two houses of the parliament of Great Britain, we are ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same may be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments."

"We doubt not, that your Majesty and your parliament of Great Britain will consider these resolutions as the most unequivocal testimony of our zealous loyalty to your Majesty's sacred person, family, and government, and as an unalterable pledge of our attachment to the British empire. We offer them, in the full conviction, that by incorporating the Legislatures, and by consolidating the resources of the two kingdoms, we shall increase the power and stability of the empire, and that by uniting ourselves with your Majesty's subjects of Great Britain, under one parliament and government, we shall most decidedly secure the extension of our commerce, the safety of our religion, and the preservation of our liberties."

PROTEST

As entered on the Journals of the House of Lords of Ireland, on reporting the Union Propositions.

Dissentient,

1st, Because that in the present awful state of affairs, when the most unremitting industry is made use of to unhinge every established Government in Europe—when revolutionary principles have produced the overthrow of several ancient established Governments, we think every loyal subject who regards the liberties of his country, called upon to rally round

round the conſtitution and to preſerve its ſtability; we therefore cannot help proteſting againſt the raſhneſs of the Miniſter, who, in ſuch times, hazards the experiments of annihilating that conſtitution, which has for many ages maintained the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, and of ſubſtituting in its ſtead (in oppoſition to the general voice of the nation) a new ſyſtem, totally ſubverſive of every fundamental principle of that conſtitution, which we conſider as the beſt ſecurity for thoſe liberties, which the ſubjects of Ireland now enjoy.

2dly, Becauſe, however willing we now are, and always have been, to contribute in proportion to our means to the ſupport and defence of the empire, we hold it our bounden duty, before that we ſhall irrevocably enter into any engagement, to take upon ourſelves any particular proportion of the expences of the empire, to aſcertain the probable amount of ſuch proportion, to enquire into the ability of Ireland to diſcharge the ſame, and to examine whether ſuch part be proportionate to the relative abilities of the two nations. Upon ſuch enquiry we find, that the expenſe incurred by Great Britain in the year 1799, amounted to upwards of thirty-two millions; and that which was incurred by Ireland in the ſaid year, amounted to upwards of ſix millions, two ſeventeenths of which ſums (the propoſed proportion) amount to upwards of four millions four hundred thouſand pounds, which added to the preſent intereſt of the debt incurred by Ireland, and the diſcharge of her annuities, amounting to one million four hundred thouſand pounds, and the intereſt of the loan of this year, amounting to above two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, will make the annual charge upon Ireland to amount to ſix millions fifty thouſand pounds; it appears to us that the produce of our revenue, including the eſtimated amount of the taxes laid on this ſeſſion, do not exceed two millions eight hundred thouſand pounds, and conſequently they will fall ſhort by 3,250,000l. of the ſum neceſſary to diſcharge ſuch

proportionate

proportionate part of the expences of the empire. In order to aſcertain the relative abilities of the two nations, their reſpective balances of trade with the whole world have been compared, and it appears from thence that ſuch balance in favour of Great Britain amounts to the ſum of 14,800,000l. and that ſuch balance in favour of Ireland, according to the returns laid before this Houſe, amount to the ſum of 509,312l. Taking therefore the balance of trade as a criterion of ability, the proportion would be as 29 to 1. Enquiry likewiſe having been made into the current caſh in circulation in both kingdoms, it appears that in the year 1777, the current caſh in Great Britain was calculated at 43,000,950l. and it is computed by perſons the beſt informed upon that ſubject in this kingdom, that the current caſh in Ireland may now amount to between 3,000,000l. and 3,500,000l. taking it therefore at the latter, the proportion ſhould be as 12 to 1; conſidering it in another very eſſential point of view, the influx and efflux of money into the reſpective kingdoms, it appears that Great Britain receives by remittances to perſons having property in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies who reſide in Great Britain, 4 millions ſterl. We do not know of any influx of money into Ireland, ſave that of 509,312l. the balance of her trade—and it appears to us that ſhe annually remits to Great Britain, on account of her debts, the ſum of 720,000l. and on account of the pay of 3234 men ſerving in Great Britain, the ſum of 101,570l.—theſe annual drains, together with the remittances to abſentees (probably little ſhort of two millions) we conſider to have occaſioned the high rate of exchange with Great Britain during the laſt twelve months, from 3 to 5 per cent. above par. notwithſtanding that during that period 3 millions have been borrowed in Great Britain, and remitted to Ireland. We do not know of any fund to reſort to for raiſing the ſaid deficiency of 3,250,000l. ſave by taxation, an addition to which cannot in any conſiderable degree be ſupported; and by reſorting to her landed property, the groſs contents of which

which being but 11,000,000 plantation acres, we cannot eſtimate at more than the annual rent of 5,500,000l. We obſerve the large ſums of money borrowed by Ireland within thoſe four years have been for the moſt part raiſed in Great Britain, owing to the total diſability of procuring them in Ireland: the facility of raiſing money in Great Britain, and the difficulty found in raiſing any in Ireland, clearly demonſtrate the opulence of the one nation, and the poverty of the other—under ſuch circumſtances it appears to us, that if this kingdom ſhould take upon herſelf irrevocably the payment of 2-17ths of ſuch expenſes, ſhe will not have means to perform her engagements, unleſs by charging her landed property with 12 or 13s. in the pound, it muſt end in the draining from her, her laſt guinea, in totally annihilating her trade for want of capital, in rendering the taxes unproductive, and conſequently in finally putting her into a ſtate of bankruptcy; we think ourſelves called upon to proteſt againſt a meaſure ſo ruinous to this country, and to place the reſponsibility for its conſequences upon ſuch perſons as have brought it forward and ſupported it.

For theſe reaſons, and believing the above ſtatement to be accurate, we thus record our diſſent.

3dly. For theſe and many other reaſons, too tedious and too obvious to be here dwelt upon, we have deemed it our bounden duty both to ourſelves and to our deſcendants, thus publicly to declare our diſſent from thoſe reſolutions, approving of the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union, which have paſſed this Houſe, calling on our lateſt poſterity to entreat that in virtue of this, our ſolemn declaration, they will acquit us of having been in any wiſe inſtrumental to their degradation, and to the ruin of that country which they may hereafter inhabit.

Leinſter.	Moira, by Proxy.	Farnham.
Downſhire.	Arran,	Dillon.
Meath.	Charlemont.	Strangford.
		Granard.

Granard. Lismore. Powerscourt.
Ludlow, by Proxy. Riversdale by Proxy. De Vesci, by Proxy.
William Down and Connor. Mount-Cashell. Louth. Sunderlin, for the first Reason.
Rich. Waterford and Massey, by Proxy.

ARTICLES OF THE UNION, PER. STATUTE 40th, GEORGE III.

Article 1.—That the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the 1st day of January, which shall be in the year of Our Lord 1801, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom, by the name of "the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," and that the royal stile and titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said United kingdom and its dependencies, and also the ensigns armorial, flags and banners thereof, shall be such as his Majesty, by his royal proclamation under the great seal of the united kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint."

Article 2.—"That the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said united kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland."

Article 3.—"That the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be stiled "the Parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

Article 4.—"That four Lords Spiritual of Ireland, rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight lords temporal of Ireland, elected for life by the peers of Ireland, shall be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords, of the parliament of the united kingdom; and one hundred Commoners (two for each county of Ireland,

two

two for the city of Dublin, two for the city of Cork, one for the univerſity of Trinity College, and one for each of the thirty-one moſt conſiderable cities, towns, and boroughs) be the number to ſit and vote on the part of Ireland in the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of the united kingdom."

"That ſuch act as ſhall be paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, "to regulate the mode by which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commoners to ſerve in the Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, ſhall be ſummoned and returned to the ſaid Parliament," ſhall be conſidered as forming part of the treaty of Union, and ſhall be incorporated in the acts of the reſpective Parliaments by which the ſaid Union ſhall be ratified and eſtabliſhed."

"That all queſtions touching the rotation or election of lords ſpiritual or temporal of Ireland to ſit in the Parliament of the united kingdom, ſhall be decided by the Houſe of Lords thereof; and whenever by reaſon of an equality of votes in the election of any ſuch lords temporal, a complete election ſhall not be made according to the true intent of this article, the names of thoſe peers for whom ſuch equality of votes ſhall be ſo given, ſhall be written on pieces of paper of a ſimilar form, and ſhall be put into a glaſs by the clerk of the Parliaments, at the table of the houſe of lords, whilſt the Houſe is ſitting; and the peer or peers whoſe name or names ſhall be firſt drawn out by the clerk of the parliaments ſhall be deemed the peer or peers elected, as the caſe may be."

"That any perſon holding any peerage of Ireland now ſubſiſting, or hereafter to be created, ſhall not thereby be diſqualified from being elected to ſerve, if he ſhall ſo think fit, or from ſerving or continuing to ſerve, if he ſhall ſo think fit, for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, in the Houſe of Commons of the united kingdom, unleſs he ſhall have been previouſly elected as above to ſit in the

houſe of lords of the united kingdom, but that ſo long as ſuch peer of Ireland ſhall ſo continue to be a member of the Houſe of Commons, he ſhall not be entitled to the privilege of peerage, nor be capable of being elected to ſerve as a peer on the part of Ireland, or of voting at any ſuch election, and that he ſhall be liable to be ſued, indicted, proceeded againſt, and tried as a Commoner, for any offence with which he may be charged."

"That it ſhall be lawful for his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the Peerage thereof after the Union, provided that no new creation of any ſuch Peers ſhall take place after the Union, until three of the peerages of Ireland which ſhall have been exiſting at the time of the union ſhall have become extinct, and upon ſuch extinction of three peerages. that it ſhall be lawful for his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and in like manner ſo often as three peerages of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ſhall become extinct, it ſhall be lawful for his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create one other peer of the ſaid part of the united kingdom; and if it ſhall happen that the peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ſhall by extinction of peerages, or otherwiſe, be reduced to the number of one hundred, excluſive of all ſuch peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland as ſhall hold any peerage of Great Britain ſubſiſting at the time of the Union, or of the united kingdom created ſince the Union, by which ſuch peers ſhall be entitled to an hereditary ſeat in the houſe of lords of the united kingdom, then and in that caſe it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to create one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, as often as any one of ſuch one hundred peerages ſhall fail by extinction, or as often as any one peer of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland ſhall become entitled

titled by deſcent or creation to an hereditary ſeat in the houſe of lords of the united kingdom; it being the true intent and meaning of this article that at all times after the Union it ſhall and may be lawful for his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, to keep up the peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland to the number of one hundred, over and above the number of ſuch of the ſaid peers as ſhall be entitled by deſcent or creation to an hereditary ſeat in the houſe of lords of the united kingdom."

"That if any peerage ſhall at any time be in abeyance, ſuch peerage ſhall be deemed and taken as an exiſting peerage, and no peerage ſhall be deemed extinct unleſs on default of claimants to the inheritance of ſuch peerage for the ſpace of one year from the death of the perſon who ſhall have been laſt poſſeſſed thereof, and if no claim ſhall be made to the inheritance of ſuch peerage in ſuch form and manner as may from time to time be preſcribed by the houſe of lords of the united kingdom, before the expiration of the ſaid period of a year, then and in that caſe ſuch peerage ſhall be deemed extinct; provided that nothing herein ſhall exclude any perſon from afterwards putting in a claim to the peerage ſo deemed extinct, and if ſuch claim ſhall be allowed as valid by judgment of the houſe of lords of the united kingdom reported to his Majeſty, ſuch peerage ſhall be conſidered as revived; and in caſe any new creation of a peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, ſhall have taken place in the interval, in conſequence of the ſuppoſed extinction of ſuch peerage, then no new right of creation ſhall accrue to his Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, in conſequence of the next extinction which ſhall take place of any peerage of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland."

"That all queſtions touching the election of Members to ſit on the part of Ireland in the houſe of commons of the united kingdom, ſhall be heard and decided in the ſame manner as queſtions touching ſuch elections in Great Bri-

tain now are, or at anytimehereafter ſhall by law be heard and decided, ſubject nevertheleſs to ſuch particular regulations in reſpect of Ireland, as from local circumſtances the parliament of the united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient."

"That the qualifications in reſpect of property of the members elected on the part of Ireland to ſit in the houſe of commons of the united kingdom, ſhall be reſpectively the ſame as are now provided by law in the caſes of elections for counties and cities and boroughs reſpectively in that part of Great Britain called England, unleſs any other proviſion ſhall hereafter be made in that reſpect by act of parliament of the united kingdom."

"That when his Majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, ſhall declare his, her or their pleaſure, for holding the firſt or any ſubſequent parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation ſhall iſſue under the great ſeal of the united kingdom, to cauſe the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons who are to ſerve in the parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in ſuch manner as by any act of this preſent ſeſſion of the parliament of Ireland ſhall be provided and that the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons of Great Britain ſhall, together with the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons ſo returned as aforeſaid on the part of Ireland, conſtitute the two houſes of the parliament of the united kingdom."

"That if his Majeſty, on or before the 1ſt day of January, 1801, on which day the union is to take place, ſhall declare under the great ſeal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the lords and commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhould be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain, then the ſaid lords and commons of the preſent parliament of Great Britain ſhall accordingly be the members of the reſpective houſes of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Great Britain,

Britain, and they, together with the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons ſo ſummoned and returned as above, on the part of Ireland, ſhall be the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons of the firſt parliament of the united kingdom, and ſuch firſt parliament may (in that caſe) if not ſooner diſſolved, continue to ſit ſo long as the preſent parliament of Great Britain may now by law continue to ſit, if not ſooner diſſolved: provided always, that until an act ſhall have paſſed in the parliament of the united kingdom, providing in what caſes perſons holding offices or places of profit under the crown in Ireland, ſhall be incapable of being members of the houſe of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom, no greater number of members than twenty holding ſuch offices or places, as aforeſaid, ſhall be capable of ſitting in the ſaid houſe of commons of the parliament of the united kingdom; and if ſuch a number of members ſhall be returned to ſerve in the ſaid houſe, as to make the whole number of members of the ſaid houſe holding ſuch offices or places, as aforeſaid, more than twenty, then and in ſuch caſe, the ſeats or places of ſuch members as ſhall have laſt accepted ſuch offices or places ſhall be vacated, at the option of ſuch members, ſo as to reduce the number of members holding ſuch offices or places to the number of twenty; and no perſon holding any ſuch office or place ſhall be capable of being elected, or of ſitting in the ſaid houſe, while there are twenty perſons holding ſuch offices or places ſitting in the ſaid houſe; and that every one of the lords of parliament of the united kingdom, and every member of the houſe of commons of the united kingdom, in the firſt and all ſucceeding parliaments, ſhall, until the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall otherwiſe provide, take the oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration, and take and ſubſcribe the oath now by law enjoined to be taken, made and ſubſcribed by the lords and commons of the parliament of Great Britain."

That

"That the lords of parliament on the part of Ireland, in the houſe of lords of the united kingdom, ſhall at all times have the ſame privileges of parliament which ſhall belong to the lords of parliament on the part of Great Britain, and the lords ſpiritual and temporal reſpectively on the part of Ireland ſhall at all times have the ſame rights in reſpect of their ſitting and voting upon the trial of peers as the lords ſpiritual and temporal reſpectively on the part of Great Britain; and that all lords ſpiritual of Ireland, ſhall have rank and precedency next and immediately after the lords ſpiritual of the ſame rank and degree of Great Britain, and ſhall enjoy all privileges as fully as the lords ſpiritual of Great Britain do now, or may hereafter enjoy the ſame, the right and privilege of ſitting in the houſe of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of ſitting on the trial of peers, excepted; and that the perſons holding any temporal peerages of Ireland, exiſting at the time of the union, ſhall, for and after the union, have rank and precedency next and immediately after all the perſons holding peerages of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, ſubſiſting at the time of the Union; and that all peerages of Ireland, created after the union, ſhall have rank and precedency with the peerages of the united kingdom ſo created, according to the dates of their creations; and that all peerages, both of Great Britain and Ireland, now ſubſiſting, or hereafter to be created, ſhall in all other reſpects from the date of the union be conſidered as peerages of the united kingdom, and that the peers of Ireland ſhall, as peers of the united kingdom, be ſued and tried as peers, except as aforeſaid, and ſhall enjoy all privileges of peers as fully as the peers of Great Britain; the right and privileges of ſitting in the houſe of lords, and the privileges depending thereon, and the right of ſitting on the trial of peers only excepted."

Article 5.—"That the Churches of England, and Ireland, as now by law eſtabliſhed, be united into one Proteſtant

tant epiſcopal church, to be called "the united church of England and Ireland," and that the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government of the ſaid united church, ſhall be, and ſhall remain in full force for ever, as the ſame are now by law eſtabliſhed for the church of England; and that the continuance and preſervation of the ſaid united church, as the eſtabliſhed church of England and Ireland, ſhall be deemed and taken to be an eſſential and fundamental part of the union; and that in like manner the doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government of the church of Scotland, ſhall remain and be preſerved as the ſame are now eſtabliſhed by law, and by the acts for the Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland."

Article 6.—That it be the ſixth article of Union, that his Majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland ſhall, from and after the 1ſt day of January, 1801, be entitled to the ſame privileges, and be on the ſame footing as to encouragements and bounties on the like articles, being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country reſpectively and generally, in reſpect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places in the united kingdom and its dependencies; and that in all treaties made by his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, with any foreign power, his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland ſhall have the ſame privileges, and be on the ſame footing as his Majeſty's ſubjects of Great Britain."

"That from the firſt day of January, 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other, ſhall ceaſe and determine, and that the ſaid articles ſhall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on ſuch export."

"That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, (not herein after enumerated as ſubject to ſpecific duties) ſhall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than ſuch countervailing duties on the ſeveral articles enumerated

rated in the ſchedule to ſaid act annexed, or ſuch other countervailing duties as ſhall hereafter be impoſed by the parliament of the united kingdom, in the manner herein after provided; and that for the period of twenty years from the union, the articles enumerated in another ſchedule thereunto annexed, ſhall be ſubject, on importation into each country from the other, to the duties ſpecified in the ſaid ſchedule and the woollen-manufactures, known by the names of old and new drapery, ſhall pay on importation into each country from the other the duties now payable on importation into Ireland."

"Salt and hops, on importation into Ireland from Gt. Britain, ſhall be ſubject to duties not exceeding thoſe which are now paid on importation into Ireland; and coals, on importation into Ireland from Great Britain, ſhall be ſubject to burthens not exceeding thoſe to which they are now ſubject."

"That calicoes and muſlins ſhall, on their importation into either country from the other, be ſubject and liable to the duties now payable on the ſame, on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, 1808; and from and after the ſaid day the ſaid duties ſhall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, ſo as that the ſaid duties ſhall ſtand at ten *per centum* from and after the fifth day of January, 1816, until the fifth day of January, 1821; and that cotton-yarn and cotton-twiſt ſhall, on their importation into either country from the other, be ſubject and liable to the duties now payable upon the ſame on the importation thereof from Great Britain into Ireland, until the fifth day of January, 1808; and from and after the ſaid day the ſaid duties ſhall be annually reduced by equal proportions as near as may be in each year, ſo as that all duties ſhall ceaſe on the ſaid articles from and after the fifth day of January, 1816."

"That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are or may be ſubject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they

are

are compoſed, may be made ſubject, on their importation into each country reſpectively from the other, to ſuch countervailing duty as ſhall appear to be juſt and reaſonable in reſpect of ſuch internal duty or duties on the materials, and that for the ſaid purpoſes the articles ſpecified in the ſaid ſchedules ſhall be ſubject to the duties ſet forth therein, liable to be taken off, diminiſhed or encreaſed in the manner herein ſpecified, and that upon the export of the ſaid articles from each country to the other, reſpectively, a drawback ſhall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on ſuch articles on the import thereof into the ſame country from the other, and that in like manner in future it ſhall be competent to the united parliament to impoſe any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminiſh ſuch exiſting countervailing duties as may appear on like principles to be juſt and reaſonable, in reſpect of any future or additional internal duty, on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, or of any new or additional duty on any materials of which ſuch article may be compoſed, or of any abatement of duty on the ſame, and that when any ſuch new or additional countervailing duty ſhall be ſo impoſed, on the import of any article into either country from the other, a drawback, equal in amount to ſuch countervailing duty, ſhall be given in like manner on the export of every ſuch article reſpectively, from the ſame country to the other."

"That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, when exported thro' the other, ſhall in all caſes be exported ſubject to the ſame charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture."

"That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, ſhall, on their export to the other, be either drawnback, or the amount (if any be retained) ſhall be placed to the credit of the country to which they ſhall be ſo exported, ſo long as the expenditure

of

of the united kingdom ſhall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided always, that nothing herein ſhall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exiſt with reſpect to corn, meal, malt, flour, or biſcuit, but that all duties, bounties, or prohibitions on the ſaid articles may be regulated, varied, or repealed from time to time, as the united parliament ſhall deem expedient."

Article 7.—"That the charge ariſing from the payment of the intereſt and the ſinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, ſhall continue to be ſeparately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively, except as herein after provided."

"That for the ſpace of 20 years after the Union ſhall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland reſpectively towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, ſhall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland; that at the expiration of the ſaid 20 years, the future expenditure of the united kingdoms, (other than the intereſt and charges of the debt to which either country ſhall be ſeparately liable) ſhall be defrayed in ſuch proportion as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall deem juſt and reaſonable, upon a compariſon of the real value of the exports and imports of the reſpective countries, upon an average of the 3 years next preceding the period of reviſion; or on a compariſon of the value of the quantities of the following articles conſumed within the reſpective countries on a ſimilar average, *viz.* beer, ſpirits, ſugar, wine, tea, tobacco and malt; or according to the aggregate proportion reſulting from both thoſe conſiderations combined; or on a compariſon of the amount of income in each country, eſtimated from the produce for the ſame period, of a general tax, if ſuch ſhall have been impoſed, on the ſame deſcriptions of income in both countries; and that the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall afterwards proceed in like manner to reviſe and

fix

fix ſaid proportions according to the ſame rules, or any of them, at periods not more diſtant than 20 years, nor leſs than 7 years, from each other, unleſs previous to any ſuch period, the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall have declared, as herein after provided, that the expenditure of the united kingdom ſhall be defrayed indiſcriminately by equal taxes impoſed on the like articles in both countries."

"That for the defraying the ſaid expenditure, according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland ſhall hereafter conſtitute a conſolidated fund, which ſhall be charged in the firſt inſtance with the intereſt of the debt of Ireland, and with the ſinking fund applicable to the reduction of the ſaid debt, and the remainder ſhall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the expenditure of the united kingdom, to which Ireland may be liable in each year."

"That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will be liable, ſhall be raiſed by ſuch taxes in each country reſpectively, as the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall, from time to time, deem fit: provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country, by which their reſpective proportions ſhall be levied, no article in Ireland ſhall be made liable to any new or additional duty by which the whole amount of duty payable thereon would exceed the amount which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article."

"That if at the end of any year any ſurplus ſhall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the intereſt, ſinking fund, and proportional contribution, and ſeparate charges to which the ſaid country ſhall then be liable, taxes ſhall be taken off to the amount of ſuch ſurplus, or the ſurplus ſhall be applied by the parliament of the united kingdom to local purpoſes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may ariſe in the revenues of Ireland, in time of peace, or be inveſted by the commiſſioners of the national

national debt of Ireland, in the funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound intereſt, in eaſe of the contribution of Ireland in time of war, provided that the ſurplus ſo to accumulate ſhall at no future period be ſuffered to exceed the ſum of five millions."

"That all monies to be raiſed after the Union by loan, in peace or war, for the ſervice of the united kingdom, by the Parliament thereof, ſhall be conſidered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof ſhall be borne by the reſpective countries in the proportion of their reſpective contributions; provided, that if at any time in raiſing their reſpective contributions hereby fixed for each country, the parliament of the united kingdom ſhall judge it fit to raiſe a greater proportion of ſuch reſpective contributions in one country within the year than in the other, or to ſet apart a greater proportion of ſinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raiſed on account of the one country than of that raiſed on account of the other country, then ſuch part of the ſaid loan, for the liquidation of which different proviſions ſhall have been made for the reſpective countries, ſhall be kept diſtinct, and ſhall be borne by each ſeparately, and only that part of the ſaid loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the reſpective countries ſhall have made proviſion in the proportion of their reſpective contributions."

"That if at any future day the ſeparate debt of each country reſpectively ſhall have been liquidated, or if the values of their reſpective debts (eſtimated according to the amount of the intereſt and annuities attending the ſame, and of the ſinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and to the period within which the whole capital of ſuch debt ſhall appear to be redeemable by ſuch ſinking fund) ſhall be to each other in the ſame proportion with the reſpective contributions of each country reſpectively; or if the amount by which the value of the larger of ſuch debts ſhall vary from ſuch proportion, ſhall not exceed one hundredth

dredth part of the said value, and if it shall appear to the parliament of the united kingdom that the respective circumstances of the two countries will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each, to the future expenditure of the united kingdom, it shall be competent to the parliament of the united kingdom to declare that all future expence thenceforth to be incurred, together with the interest and charges of all joint debts contracted previous to such declaration, shall be so defrayed indiscriminately, by equal taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, and that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand."

"That from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the united kingdom according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before prescribed; provided nevertheless, that the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either country shall be chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed, by separate taxes in each country."

"That a sum not less than the sum which has been granted by the parliament of Ireland, on the average of six years immediately preceding the first day of January, in the year 1800, in premiums for the internal encouragement of agriculture or manufactures, or for the maintaining institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for the period of 20 years after the Union to such local purposes in Ireland, in such manner as the parliament of the united kingdom shall direct."

That

That from and after the firſt day of January, 1801, all public revenue ariſing to the united kingdom from the territorial dependencies thereof, and applied to the general expenditure of the united kingdom, ſhall be ſo applied in the proportions of the reſpective contributions of the two countries."

Article 8.—"That it be the eighth article of Union, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and all the courts of civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the reſpective kingdoms, ſhall remain as now by law eſtabliſhed within the ſame, ſubject only to ſuch alterations and regulations, from time to time, as circumſtances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require, provided, that all writs of error and appeals, depending at the time of the Union, or hereafter to be brought, and which might now be finally decided by the houſe of lords of either kingdom, ſhall from and after the Union be finally decided by the houſe of lords of the united kingdom, and provided, that from and after the Union there ſhall remain in Ireland an inſtance court of admiralty, for the determination of cauſes, civil and maritine only; and that the appeal from ſentences of the ſaid court ſhall be to his Majeſty's delegates in his court of chancery, in that part of the united kingdom called Ireland: and that all laws at preſent in force in either kingdom, which ſhall be contrary to any of the proviſions which may be enacted by any act for carrying theſe articles into effect, be from and after the Union repealed."

"And whereas the ſaid articles having, by addreſs of the reſpective houſes of parliament in Great Britain and Ireland, been humbly laid before his Majeſty, his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to approve the ſame, and to recommend it to his two houſes of parliament, in Great Britain and Ireland, to conſider of ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary for giving effect to the ſaid article; in order therefore to give full effect and validity to the ſame, be it enacted by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by and with the advice and

conſent

consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said foregoing recited articles, each and every one of them, according to the true import and tenor thereof, be ratified, confirmed and approved, and be, and they are hereby declared to be, the articles of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and the same shall be in force and have effect for ever, from the first day of January which shall be in the year of our Lord 1801; provided, that before that period an act shall have been passed by the parliament of Great Britain for carrying into effect, in the like manner, the said foregoing recited articles."

"And he it enacted, that of the one hundred commoners to sit on the part of Ireland in the united parliament, sixty-four shall be chosen for the counties, and thirty-six for the following cities and boroughs, *viz.* for each county of Ireland, two; for the city of Dublin, two; for the city of Cork, two; for the college of the holy trinity of Dublin, one; for the city of Waterford, one; for the city of Limerick, one; for the borough of Belfast, one; for the county and town of Drogheda, one; for the county and town of Carrickfergus, one; for the borough of Newry, one; for the city of Kilkenny, one; for the city of Londonderry, one; for the town of Galway, one; for the borough of Clonmel, one; for the town of Wexford, one; for the town of Youghal, one; for the town of Bandonbridge, one; for the borough of Armagh, one; for the borough of Dundalk, one; for the town of Kinsale, one; for the borough of Lisburne, one; for the borough of Sligo, one; for the borough of Catherlough, one; for the borough of Ennis, one; for the borough of Dungarvan, one; for the borough of Downpatrick, one; for the borough of Coleraine, one; for the town of Mallow, one; for the borough of Athlone, one; for the town of New-Ross, one; for the borough of Tralee, one; for the city of Cashel, one; for the borough of Dungannon, one; for the borough of Portarlington, one; for the borough of Enniskillen, one."

The measure of Union having been thus adopted, this last session of the Irish parliament was terminated on 2d. August, 1800, when his Excellency Marquis Cornwallis (then Lord Lieutenant) made the following speech from the Throne.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"The whole business of this important session being at length happily concluded, it is with the most sincere satisfaction that I communicate to you, by his Majesty's express command, his warmest acknowledgments for that ardent zeal and unshaken perseverance, which you have so conspicuously manifested in maturing and completing the great measure of a *legislative Union* between this kingdom and Great Britain."

"The proofs you have given on this occasion ofy our uniform attachment to the real welfare of your country, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of the empire at large, not only entitle you to the full approbation of your Sovereign, and to the applause of your fellow-subjects, but must afford you the surest claim to the gratitude of posterity."

"You will regret, with his Majesty, the reverse which his Majesty's allies have experienced on the continent—but his Majesty is persuaded that the firmness and public spirit of his subjects will enable him to persevere in that line of conduct which will best provide for the honour and the essential interests of his dominions, whose means and resources have now, by your wisdom, been more closely and intimately combined."

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for the liberal supplies which you have chearfully granted for the various and important branches of the public service in the present year."

"His Majesty has also witnessed with pleasure that wise liberality which will enable him to make a just and equal

retribution

retribution to those bodies and individuals, whose privileges and interests are affected by the Union, and he has also seen with satisfaction that attention to the internal prosperity of this country, which has been so conspicuously testified by the encouragement you have given to the improvement and extension of its inland navigation."

"*My Lords and Gentlemen*,

"I have the happiness to acquaint you, that the country in general has in a great measure returned to its former state of tranquillity. If in some districts a spirit of plunder and disaffection still exists, those disorders, I believe, will prove to be merely local, and will, I doubt not, be soon effectually terminated."

"The pressure of scarcity on the poorer classes, though much relieved by private generosity and by the salutary provisions of the legislature, has been long and unusually severe; but, I trust, that under the favour of Providence we may draw a pleasing prospect of future plenty from the present appearance of the harvest."

"I am persuaded that the great measure which is now accomplished, could never have been effected but by a decided conviction on your part, that it would tend to restore and to preserve the tranquillity of this country, to increase its commerce and manufactures, to perpetuate its connexion with Great Britain, and augment the resources of the empire. You will not fail to impress these sentiments on the minds of your fellow-subjects—you will encourage and improve that just confidence which they have manifested in the result of your deliberations on this ardent question. Above all, you will be studious to inculcate the full conviction, that, united with the people of Great Britain, into one kingdom, governed by the same Sovereign, protected by the same laws, and represented in the same legislature, nothing will be wanting on their part but a spirit of industry and order, to insure to them the full advantages under which the people of Great Britain have enjoyed a greater

degree of prosperity, security and freedom, than has ever yet been experienced by any other nation."

"I cannot conclude without offering to you and to the nation at large my personal congratulations on the accomplishment of this great work, which has received the sanction and concurrence of our Sovereign on the anniversary of that auspicious day which placed his illustrious family on the throne of these realms. The empire is now, thro' your exertions, so completely united, and by union so strengthened, that it can bid defiance to all the efforts its enemies can make, either to weaken it by division, or to overturn it by force. Under the protection of the Divine Providence, the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland will, I trust, remain in all future ages the fairest monument of his Majesty's reign, already distinguished by so many and such various blessings conferred upon every class and description of his subjects."

FINIS.

INDEX

TO THE

THREE VOLUMES.

N. B. *The great letters indicate the Volume, and the figures the Page.*

A

ABSENTEE tax propoſed, I. 114, and rejected.——Letter to Lord North, relative to, 115——His anſwer, 117.

Acts ſundry paſſed, II. 90, and III. 45.

Addreſs to his Majeſty, I. 265, 371.——Debates on, 372—377——To the volunteers on the ſubject of parliamentary reform 351.——Adopted by the reſt of the kingdom, 353.——Warmly debated in parliament, 354—370——Negatived, *ib.*——To the Lord Lieutenant, II. 76——To his Majeſty, on the outrages, &c. 95.——Rt. hon. T. Conolly's ſpeech on, 97——To the Lord Lieutenant, 321——Of the loyal Rom. Catholics to thoſe in Rebellion, III. 254.

American war, I. 120——Injurious to the proſperity of Ireland, 121 and 124——Commons reſolutions on, 130.

Amneſty bill, III. 375.

Antrim, inſurrection and battle at, III. 285.

Armagh, meeting of the magiſtrates of, III. 157——Lord Gosford's ſtatement of the diſturbances in that county, 158——Reſolutions to ſuppreſs, 160——County proclaimed purſuant to the inſurrection act, III. 177.——Sheriff and governors addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, 179——Emigration of the Defenders to Connaught from, 191.

Armstrong, Cap.——*ſee Sheeres*

Army augmentation proceedings on I. 61——Enquiry into the eſtabliſhment, 62——Augmentation carried, 74.

Aſgill Sir Charles, defeats the rebels at Leighlin, III. 300.

B

Ballimore battle of, III. 243.

Ballinahinch rebels defeated at, III. 289.

Ballinamuck deciſive battle, and ſurrender of the French, III. 325

Ballynaſcarty attack of the rebels at, III. 295.

Baltinglaſs rout of the rebels at, III. 242.

Bank National proceedings reſpecting, I. 286——Notice from, III. 187.

Belſham's obſervations on the cauſe of diſcontent, III. 347.

Bill for limitting the duration of parliaments, I. 55——Addreſs thereupon to the Lord Lieutenant, *ib.*——His anſwer, *ib.*——Bill to prevent the buying and ſelling of public offices, 57.——To prevent tumultuous riſings

ings, *ib.*——Judges bill rejected, 59.——Octennial bill paſſed, *ib.*——Addreſs to his Majeſty thereupon, 61——Money bill rejected, 66.——Commons proteſt, *ib.*——Lord Lieutenant proteſts againſt the proceedings of the commons, 68, and 73——Bill for improvement of Agriculture in Ireland, 119——Allegiance bill, 120—123.——Sundry bills paſſed, 153.——Bill for the relief of Proteſtant Deſſenters 184——For *Securing* the liberty of the preſs, 114——paſſed, 419——For the better execution of the law, II. 83.——Petition againſt it, 85.——rejected, and the bill paſſed, 86——Do. to limit the amount of penſions, 137——Mr. Forbes's ſpeech relative to *ib.*——Sundry bills paſſed, 156——Place, penſion, and reſponſibility bills rejected, 217——Bill to prevent unlawful aſſemblies, III. 11——Grattan's Speech, *ib.*——debated—and paſſed, 44.

Black-Stair-mountains, rebels diſperſion and defeat at, III. 296.

Bond Oliver, the rebel leader, committed to priſon, III. 374——His trial, 441——Dies in priſon, 308.

Borris attacked by the rebels, but without effect, III. 29.

Buckingham Lord appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, I. 138——His ſpeech, *ib.*

Byrne's trial, III. 429—441.

C

Camden Lord recalled, III. 374.

Carliſle Earl of, appointed Chief Governor, I. 187.——Speech on opening the ſeſſions of 1781 *ib.*——Receives the thanks of the guild of merchants of Dublin 191——reſignation, 218.

Carlow deſtruction of the inſurgents at, III. 268.

Carnew attacked by the rebels, III. 303.

Castlereagh Lord his letter to the Lord Mayor on the intended inſurrection, III. 238

Catholic Committee deſire to be put on the ſame footing with proteſtants, II. 298.——reſolutions, *ib.*——Addreſs to their brethren of Ireland, 344.

Catholic meeting at Francis-ſtreet chapel, III. 133.——Reſolutions 134—136.

Chambers capt. killed at Caſtlebar, III. 318.

Clain action and defeat of the rebels at, III. 243.

Clergymen's names murdered by the rebels, III. 346.

Clonard battle of, and gallant defence of Lieutenant Tyrrell with 27 men, III. 303.——Rebels purſued to Longwood and Culmulin, and diſperſed in all directions, 306.

Commerce, regulations propoſed, III. 53.——debated to, 58.

Commons houſe of, addreſs to his Majeſty on the bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, I. 56.——His Majeſty's anſwer, *ib.*——On the ſtate of the nation, 148 and 151——On the conduct of France, 152.——Vote of cenſure againſt the printers, 184.

Cork merchants of, petition againſt the embargo, I. 139.

Cornwallis Marquis, his ſpeech at opening the parliament of 1799——Debates thereon, 482——His ſpeech at opening ſeſſion of 1800, 491——goes againſt the French, III. 309.——Encamps near Ballimore, 319. ſee 374.

Corporations of Dublin addreſs his Majeſty, I. 75.

Crawford Lieut. Col. attacks the French at Ballinamuck, III. 325

Credit public, Lord Mayor, Bankers, Merchants, &c. hold a meeting to conſider the ſtate of III. 185.

Cree, atrocities at, III. 330.
Cromlin action at, III 241,
Cullen, engagement at, III. 243.
Curran Mr. his speech on the address to his Majesty, II. 101.

D

Debt National in 1765, I. 57 and 129——in 1771, P. 79——Accounts 1775, P. 128——Debt 1777, P. 162——In 1781 P. 189——In 1783 P. 378——State of in 1786, II. 88——In 1791, 1793, and 1795, III. 139.
Declaratory act repealed, I. 268.——Causes of its rise, 269—286——Address of the corporation of Dublin on, 320.
Defenders Origin of, in County Armagh, III. 153, 154.——Combinations for the subversion of the state, 156.
Down Co. resolutions of Drumcree, and Sego in, III. 183.
Dublin, merchants and traders of, address to Wm. Pitt Esq. I. 37.——Resolutions in favour of a Septennial bill, 39——On the unsuccessful attempts in favour of Ireland, 161——Inhabitants of Dublin petition for an amendment of the police act, II. 199——Citizens petition his Majesty to continue Earl Fitzwilliam in the Government of Ireland, III. 128——Meeting to petition his Majesty for a change of ministry. 192.——Resolutions, 193.——Petition, 194.——Volunteers resolutions at, I. 198.
Duff General defeats the rebels at Curragh, III. 267.
Duigenan Dr. his Speech on the motion for further relief of Rom. Catholics, II. 353—415.——Accounts of the rebels intentions III. 374, (Note.)
Dungannon, resolutions of 143 Volunteer corps at, respecting legislative independance, I. 195.——Resolutions at, respecting parliamentary reform, 348.
Dunlavin, defeat of rebels at, III. 245.
Dunshaughlin insurrection near, III. 247.

E

Eden Mr. moves a repeal of 6th Geo. I. I. 219——Withdraws his motion, *ib.*
Education public, Mr. Orde's motion respecting, II. 87.——Address thereupon to Lord Lieutenant, *ib.*——Dropped 88.——Resumed, 143—156.
Education enquiry into the state of II. 143—156.
Effingham earl of, conduct respecting the colonies, I. 129——Receives the thanks of the city of Dublin on that occasion, *ib.*
Embargo on provisions, I. 131.——Opposed by Geo. Ogle, esq, *ib.*
Enniscorthy, attacked by the rebels, III. 261.——Cruelties at, 332.
Eustace General, his valour and activity at the battle of New Ross III. 282.
Excise board, I. 144.

F

Fermanagh Militia, 10 of the, taken by the rebels. III. 243.
Fitzgerald Lord Edward, insults the house II. 326. which causes a tumult *ib.*——Summoned to attend at the bar 327.——Conference with Hoche the French general, III. 357.——After an obstinate resistence taken into custody, and dies of his wounds, 238 and 366.
Fitzwilliam Earl, appointed lord-lieutenant, 3d, 122.—Receives addresses from almost every town in the kingdom, *ib.* and from the Rom. Catholics, *ib.*—His reply. 124.—Protestant Dissenters address, 125.—His Excellency's answer, 126.—His recal, 128. Administration contrasted with lord Westmoreland's, 137.——

Ferment consequent to his removal, 139.
Foster Rt. Hon. John, elected Speaker II. 76.
Fox's-hill, attack and defeat of the rebels at III. 302.
France, resolutions for a commercial treaty with II. 117.——Mr. Ogilvie's Speech relative to 120.—134.——Address to his Majesty on that occasion of the treaty, 135.
Free Masons of Tyrone, their resolutions, II. 338.——Censure the Sovereign of Belfast for proceeding against the proprietors of the Northern Star, 340.——Address to their brethren of Ireland, 341.
Free-Trade, proceedings on the Irish Parliament, I. 27—171.——Riots 173.——Discussed in the British Parliament *ib.*——Taken into consideration by the merchants of Dublin, 191
French land at Carrickfergus, I. 13.——defeated 17.——
French arrive at Bantry bay, III. 182.——driven off by a storm *ib.*——Land at Killala, III. 309—377.——March to Ballina, but retreat to Killala, *ib.*——Take Castlebar 311 & 378.——Further account of proceedings at Castlebar, 313.——Surrender at Ballinamuck, 325.

G

George II. his death and character, I. 18 19.
George III. his accession, I. 20.——Marriage, 21.——Favourable commencement of his reign, *ib.*——Indisposition engages the public attention, II. 166——Taken into consideration by Parliament, *ib.*——address to the Prince of Wales, to assume the regency, *ib.*——Debated and carried, *ib.*——House of Lords vote an address to the Prince of Wales, which the Lord Lieutenant refuses to forward to England, 167 & *seq.*——Forwarded by the Lords and Commons, and presented to the Prince of Wales, 168. & *seq.*——Vote of censure against the Lord Lieutenant, 170.——The Prince of Wales's answer to the delegates, 171.——His Majesty's recovery announced, 172.——Copy of address, *ib.*——of protests against it, 173.—177.——Protest of the minority, *ib.*——Protest against the vote of censure on the Lord Lieutenant, 178.——Prince of Wales's answer to the address, 179.——Second answer, 180——Address of the Commons thereon, 182.——Do. of Lords, 184.——Protest against the address 184, 185.——Lord Lieutenant's speech on his Majesty's recovery, 187.——Congratulatory address from the Lords and Commons on, 188—191——Proceedings in the British Parliament, *ib* to 199
Geneveſe emigrants, and asylum appointed for them, I. 328—333.
Gorey, cruelties of the rebels at III. 330.
Granard, rebels defeated near by a corps of Yeomen, III. 322.
Grattan Mr. Speech on a free trade &c. I. 168—170.——Motion for an amendment, *ib.*——A reward voted to, 259, 261.——Speech on the commercial adjustment, II. 49——Motion relative to tythes, negatived, 136——Speech relative to Do. 160—166.——Speech at the opening of the sessions of 1790.—201—214.——Motion respecting administration, negatived, 216.——Address on the subject of the peerage, 231.——Motion relative to debated, 237—246

——Negatived *ib.*——Speech on a motion to enquire into the cauſe of Earl Fitzwilliam's recal, III. 140.

H

Habeas corpus act I. 287.
Hacketstown, battle of III. 245, 301.
Halifax, Earl of appointed Lord Lieutenant I. 26.——Speech to both Houſes *ib.*——Meſſage 28.
Hamilton Rowan's trial for libelling Government, III. 100.—111.—Found guilty, *ib.*
Harcourt Earl commencement of his adminiſtration, I. 112,——Government, 114.——Impeached of breach of privilege by Mr. Townſend, 132.
Harvey Bagnel, commander of the rebels, his ſummons to General Johnſon to ſurrender up the town of New Roſs, III. 277.——Depoſed of his command 371.——eſcapes to an iſland *ib.*——is taken and executed, *ib.*
Hay's ſtatement of the Origin of Orange-men III. 156.
Hearts of Oak, cauſe of their inſurrection I. 34.——Proceedings and diſperſion *ib* & *ſeq.*—Parliament enquiring into, and redreſs of their grievances, 35.
Hobart Secretary, motion to bring in a bill for the farther relief of Roman Catholics II. 346.

J

Jackſon Charles, his ſufferings III. 333—340.
Jackſon Rev. William, tried for high treaſon. III. 146.——and found guilty, 150.——died before ſentence was pronounced *ib.*
Jennings Col. his prudent and reſolute defence of Carrickfergus I. 13, 14.——Receives the thanks of the Houſe of Commons on the occaſion 17.——Preſented by the Men of Belfaſt with a Silver cup, 18.
Johnſon General, gallant conduct at the battle of New Roſs, *III.* 275, 282.
Indemnity act, III. 173.
Inſurrection bill paſſed III. 164.——Sir L. Parſons Speech *ib.*——Dr. Duigenan's 169.
Invaſion of Ireland threatened by France, I. 9.——Signified by the Lord Lieutenant to the Houſe of Commons 9,—10.——attempted by Thurot without ſucceſs 12—17.——a ſecond time threatened 166.——ineffectually attempted at Bantry Bay, III. 182. and at Killala, 309—325.
Ireland, general ſtate of, at the commencement of this reign, I. 24.——unſucceſsful attempts in the Britiſh Parliament on behalf of 160.——Particular circumſtances reſpecting, 163.——Meaſures for relief of, 177.——further indulgence granted to, I. 322.——retroſpective obſervation on the cauſes of diſcontent in, III. 347.

K

Kilbeggan, action at III. 293.
Kilconnel-hill, battle and overthrow of the inſurgents at III. 302.
Kilculten, battle at and defeat of the rebels III. 244,
Kildare, reſolutions of the freeholders of, on the recal of Earl Fitzwilliam, III. 130.——petition to his Majeſty, 132.——Town of frequently aſſaulted by the rebels, 288.——Cruelties at, 330.
Kilkenny, rebels defeated near, by Sir Charles Aſgill, III. 302.
Killala taken by the French III. 309—378.——retaken by the king's troops, 379.
Kingſborough Lord, his treatment by the rebels, III. 345.

L

Lake, General proclamation for a ſurrender of arms &c. III. 190.——Cenſured in parliament by

Grattan *ib.*——Received propoſals for conditions of ſurrender from the rebels at Wexford, 298.——his anſwer, 299.——Harraſſes the French on their march from Killala, 324.
Langriſhe, ſir Hercules's ſpeech on the motion for further relief of the Roman Catholicks, II. 353—4 5.
Larkin-Hill, rebels driven from III. 294.
Legiſlative independance of Ireland proceedings on, I. 194.——Reſolutions of 143 Volunteer corps at Dungannon reſpecting, 195——Reſolutions in Dublin, 198——Sundry addreſſes and reſolutions on, 194—216——Granted, 232——Mr. Grattan's motion 234—236.——Debates on the motion, 238—257.
Linen manufacture of Ireland, a committee appointed to take into conſideration, I. 86.——Statement of its progreſs, *ib.*—91.——Acts of Parliament relative to, 91 & *ſeq.*——Sir William Temple's obſervations on, 92—94.——Truſtees, *ib.*—102.
Londonderry citizens addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, III. 210——His Excellency's anſwer, 212.
Lottery, the firſt Iriſh ſtate, I. 177.
Lucan, rebels routed with great ſlaughter at, III. 243.
Lucas Dr. Charles his death, I. 102.

M

Manufactures ſtate of in Dublin, I. 141. and *ſeq.*——diſtreſſed ſtate of Manufacturers in, 1780. productive of riots, 380.—enquiry into the ſtate of manufactures, 419.
Mc'Cann's trial, III. 411.
McFarland Captain, of the Tyrone Militia, killed at Ballimore, III. 244.
Mc.Nevin's Dr. account of the organization of United Iriſhmen, III. 225. *note.*
Meſſage from his majeſty reſpecting the conduct of France, I. 151. and *ſeq.*——Do. reſpecting a war, III. 9.
Military law in the North of Ireland, III. 188.
Military licentiouſneſs, III. 214.——General orders reſpecting, *ib.*
Moira Earl of, motion for conciliatory meaſures, III. 359.
Money Bill, Speaker's obſervation on preſenting, I. 112,—114.—Do. 179 and *ſeq.*——Same in 1781 *P.* 189 *ſeq.*——See II. 303.
Moor Brigadier-general, defeats the rebels, III. 299.
Motion for an addreſs to his Majeſty on the ſubject of penſions, I. 52.——Relative to the judges 53.——On the ſtate of affairs, 78. *ſeq.*——For an addreſs to his Majeſty, 125.——Negatived 128.——For an addreſs on the ſtate of the nation, 144——For retrenchment, negatived, 338——For an addreſs to his Majeſty relative to Military expence, *ib.*——Debates on, *ib.*——345——negatived, *ib.*
Munro the Northern rebel leader taken, III. 291.——His proclamation, 292.
Muſgrave Sir Richard, account of the origin of Orangemen, III. 156.
Mutiny Bill paſſed, I. 180—182.——Made perpetual, 181.——Occaſions much diſcontent, 183——Reſolutions of volunteers to, *ib.*——Repealed, 312.
Naas attacked by the rebels, who are defeated, III. 242, & 368.
National Battalion with French uniforms aſſemble in Dublin, III. 230.
New-Roſs battle of, III. 273.—281

Newtownbarry battle of, III. 168.
Northumberland Earl of Speech on the disturbances of White Boys, &c. I. 40——Consequent Parliamentary enquiry, 41.——Report thereon, 49.
Notice by the Lord Mayor to the inhabitants of Dublin, III. 252.

O

Oak Boys, See Hearts of Oak.
O'Connor the rebel demagogue, III. 362——taken into custody, 364
Ogilvie Mr. Speech on the resolutions for a commercial treaty, II. 120—134.
Ogle George Esq. opposed the embargo, I. 131.
Orangemen contradictory statements of Hay and Sir Richard Musgrave concerning their origin, III. 156.——Declaration, 381.
Orde Mr. his Speech on the commercial intercourse, II. 26—49——Motion respecting Public Education, 87.
Oulard 100 of the North-Cork Militia cut off at, III. 258.——Consequent distress in Wexford, 261.

P

Parliament (British) debates on the legislative freedom of Ireland, I. 219.——Grattan's Speech in the Irish House, 222- 230——Motion for an address to his Majesty, *ib.*
Parliament (British) assents its supreme authority, I. 70.——proceedings relative to Ireland, 79. —83.——Protest of the Lords during the former Session, 83 —85.——Lords address for the discouragement of Irish woollen manufactures, 94 and *seq.*——Commons Do. 96——Debates respecting Ireland, 155—159. ——Address on the American war, 318.
Parliament (Irish) resolve on granting supplies for *six months only*, I. 176.
Parliament (Irish) Sessions of 1765 I. 52.——Acts to stop distilleries 58.——Sessions concluded 59. ——Opened under Lord Towns end, *ib.*——Dissolved, 63.—— Sessions of 1769, *P.* 65,—— Act to punish Steel boys 65 ——Session of 1771 *P* 75.—— Session of 1777 *P.* 138.—— Session closed 313.——Dissolved in 1783 and a new one assembled 14th October *P.* 334 Session of 1783 *P.* 346.——Session of 1785, II. 9.——Concluded, 77 ——Session of 1786, *P.* 80—— Concluded 91.——Session of 1787, *P.* 93.——Lord Lieutenant's Speech *ib.*——Session of 1787 concluded, 157,——Parliament prorogued 159.—— Session of 1788, *P.* 160.—— Session of 1789, *P.* 166.—— Session of 1790, *P.* 201.—— Session of 1791, *P.* 219.—— Concluded 246.——Parliament dissolved, 247.——Session of 1792, *P.* 248.——Motion for an address *ib.*——Grattan's Speech, 248—271.——Session of 1792, closed 304.—— Session of 1793, *P.* 308.—— closed, III. 46.——And Parliament prorogued 49.—— Session of 1794, *P.* 50.—closed 88.—And parliament prorogued 90.——Session of 1795 closed 150, prorogued *ib.*——Session of 1796. *P.* 161——closed 174 ——Session of 1797, *P.* 183. prorogued and afterwards dissolved, 200.
Parliament of 1798 being the last assembled in Ireland, 202 ——List of the members returned 202—209.
Parliamentary reform agitated in England, I. 316.——Resolutions of the livery of London, *ib.* Petition of the county of York,

317.——Becomes an object of general attention 348.——Meeting and resolutions at Dungannon, *ib.*——Address to the Volunteers on, 351——Adopted by the rest of the kingdom, 353.——Warmly debated in Parliament, 354—370——Negatived, *ib.*——Second bill attempted, 381—2.——Resolutions in Dublin relative to *ib.* Address to the people, 383——Debated and a Second time negatived, 392—413.——Parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, II. 308, again debated *ib.*——Grattan's Speech on 310—316.——Further proceedings on 416——Grattan's Speech, *ib.*——Moves resolutions, 423.——Lord Chancellor's reply, 424.——Speeches of Mr. Forbes, 425.——Hon. Mr. Stewart, *ib.*——Secretary of State, 426.——Sir J. Blaquiere, 434.——Mr. Duquery, 439.——Mr. Curran, 443.——Mr. Grattan's reply, 445.

Bill introduced by William Brabazon Ponsonby, III. 59.——Sir. H. Langrishe's Speech, 60.——Dr. Brown, 67.——Mr. Grattan, 68.——Sir. H. Langrishe's motion to postpone a second reading, carried, 88.

Parsons, Sir. Laurence his question on the alarming situation of the kingdom, III. 215.——Motion for an enquiry into the origin of the discontents, 320.

St. Patrick, knights of, installation I. 323.——The ceremony of installation, 324—327.

Peep of Day Boy's origin of in the County of Armagh, III. 153.—154.

Peerage, Irish state of in 1759. I. 35.

Pelham, Mr. Letter to General Lake, on the disturbances, III 188.

Pension list, resolutions of the house of Commons on, I. 145.——State of, in 1781 *P.* 189.

Pery Edmond Sexton Esq. elected Speaker, I. 77.——Declaration on presenting the money bills, 79.——Reelected, 129,——Resignation, II. 74.——Mr. Orde's Motion to elect the Rt. Hon. John Foster, 75. carried, 76.

Pitt William Earl of Chatham, death and character, I. 154.

Ponsonby bridge, engagement at, III. 296.

Ponsonby, Mr. George resolutions relative to writs in actions of Slander, II. 217.——Debated, 220—230.——Motion respecting the trade of Ireland, 302.

Ponsonby, Mr. John elected Speaker of the House of Commons, I. 65.——Resignation, 76. *Seq.*

Ponsonby William Brabazon, bill for Parliamentary reform, III. 59.

Portaferry attacked by the rebels and bravely defended by the Yeomen, III. 290.

Portland Duke of, Chief Governor of Ireland, I. 218.——Speech to both Houses, 233.——On closing the Sessions of 1783 *P.* 313.

Portugal court of, its conduct towards Ireland, I. 191.——Address of the H. of Commons to his Majesty thereon, 191—193.——His Majesty's answer, 217. and *Seq.*

Poyning's law, I 81.——Observations on, III. 103.

Presbyterian Clergy's petition for a seminary of learning, II. 115.——Rejected, *ib.*

Priests Romish, their fanaticism and intolerance, III. 372. *Seq.*

Proclamation respecting bank payments, III. 186.——To sup-

preſs the United Iriſhmen, 196, For aſſembling a new Parliament, 200.——To ſuppreſs the Rebellion, 251.
Proclamation of the people of the Co. Wexford, III. 296.
Proſperous, battle and atrocities at III. 243.
Protecting duties propoſed, I. 346

Q

Quakers' addreſs to his Majeſty on his acceſſion to the throne, I. 21

R

Randalſtown and Larne, III. 285. 286.
Rathangan rebels defeated, III. 266.
Rebellion commencement of 23d. May, 1798, III. 240.——Mail coaches ſtopped as a ſignal for a general riſing.
Rebels defeated at New Roſs, III. 369.——Arklow, 370——Evacuate Wexford, 371——Attack Antrim, 373.——Ballinahinch, 374.——
Rebel leaders make propoſals to Government, III. 307.——
Reilly Mr. High Sheriff of Dublin, charges againſt him, II. 12.
Revenue ſtate of in 1765, I. 52.
Reynolds diſcovers to Government the plans and intended meeting of the executive committee of United Iriſhmen who are ſeized, III. 365.
Right Boy's outrages of, II. 82. Dr. Troy's letter thereupon to the Roman Catholic clergy of the Diocese of Oſſory, *ib.*——Outrages encreaſe, 93.—Attorney Generals account of, 110.
Roman Catholics, indulgence granted to, I. 153. *Seq.*——Bills introductory to their further relief, 287—311.——Sir Hercules Langriſhe's plan for their relief, II. 271.——Leave given to bring in the Bill, 284.——Paſſed, 292.——Addreſs on, behalf of, 296.——Petition his Majeſty for further privileges, II. 328—334.——Bill for their further relief brought in by Secretary Hobart, 346.——Prelates, addreſs to their reſpective dioceſes, *III.* 92.——Addreſs Earl Fitzwilliam, 122.——Meeting at Francis-ſtreet chapel, 133——Reſolutions, 136.——Profeſſions of loyalty 270.——Roman Catholic Nobility and gentry addreſs to Lord Camden, *III.* 383.——Lord Cornwallis, 386,——To the lower order of their brethren, 387.
Rutland duke of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, his death, *II.* 159.
Ryan Captain, dies of his wound received at the taking of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, *III.* 238.

S

Saintfield, rebels defeated at, *III.* 238.
Santry, mail coach ſtopped at, by the inſurgents, *III.* 24.
Scullabogue, horrid maſſacre of Proteſtants at, *III* 329.
Secret Committee of the Houſe of Lord's, their report, *III.* 227.
Sheares's plot diſcloſed by Captain Armſtrong, *III.* 366.——Plan of inſurrection, 367——Are apprehended, *ib.*——Tried and executed, 375—411.
Sheehy Father Nicholas, a Roman Catholic clergyman executed, *I.* 58.
Society of the Friends of the Conſtitution, Liberty, and Peace formed, *II.* 335.——Addreſs to the people of Ireland, *ib.*
Spain, meſſage from his Majeſty reſpecting her declaration of war againſt Great Britain, *III.* 184.

SPEECHES, MOTIONS &c:

of the Sundry Members, as follows.

Attorney General, *I.* 172 245 342 354.——*II.* 237.——*III.* 24.
Bagnal Mr. *I.* 256, 257, 303.
Barrington Mr. *II.* 239.
Blacquier Sir John.
Boyd Counſellor, *I.* 415.
Brooke Mr. *III.* 59.
Brown Mr. Denis, *I.* 343.——*II.* 314.
Brown Dr. *III.* 67.
Brownlow Mr. *III.* 238,
Burgh Mr. Walter, *I.* 246.
Buſhe Mr. *II.* 316.
Cavendiſh Sir. Henry, *I.* 171, 244.
Chancellor, *III.* 53.
Chapman Sir Benjamin, *III.* 249.
Conolly Mr. *I.* 245, 250, 371.——*II.* 84, 167, 314.
Conyngham Colonel, *II.* 314.
Corry Mr. *II.* 223, 317.——*II.* 59.
Cunningham General, *I.* 302.
Curran Mr. *II.* 101, 237, 443.——*III.* 44.
Daly Mr. D. *I.* 303.
Deane Sir Robert, *I.* 167.
Doyle Major, *III.* 37.
Douglas Sec. *III.* 53.
Duigenan Dr. *II.* 353.——*III.* 169.
Duquery Mr. *II.* 439.——*III.* 53.
Fitzgerald Lord Edward, *II.* 326.
Fitzgibbon Mr. *I.* 308, 368.
Fitzherbert Mr. *II.* 166, 168.
Fitzpatrick Rt. Hon. Mr. *I.* 251, 256.
Flood Hon. Henry, *I.* 172, 240, 249, 300, 301, 339, 342, 343.——*II.* 314.
Forbes Mr. I. 300.——II. 137, 215, 222, 223, 225.
Foſter Mr. I. 415.
Gardener Mr. *I.* 287, 304, 308, 419.
Grattan Mr. *I.* 168, 222, 234, 250, 296, 303.——*II.* 49 136, 160, 168, 169, 170, 171, 201, 216, 220, 231, 248, 310, 320 323, 416, 445.——*III.* 12, 24, 53, 68, 140, 190.
Green Mr. *II.* 84.
Hardy Mr. *III.* 23.
Hartly Mr. *I.* 347,
Headford Lord, *II.* 321.
Hobart Sec. *II.* 322.——*III.* 9.
Hutchinſon R. H. *I.* 168, 305.
Langriſhe Sir H. *I.* 252, 347, 362 400.——*II.* 221, 271, 346.——*III.* 60.
Longfield Mr, *II*, 99,
Lord Lieutenant, *I.* 71, 164, 184, 187, 233, 313, 334.——*II.* 77, 80, 91, 93, 157, 187, 246, 304.——*III.* 46, 50, 83, 150, 174.
Lowther George Mr. *I.* 257.
Martin Mr. *I.* 241.
Molyneux Mr. *I.* 361.
Monck Maſon, Mr. John. I. 392.
Monſell, I. 240.
Mountnorris Lord, I. 372.
Newenham Sir Edward, I. 171,
O'Brien Sir Lucas, I. 241.
Ogle Mr. I. 171, 257, 304.
Ogilvie, II. 120.
Orde Mr. II. 26, 75, 143.
Parſons Sir Laurence, III. 164. 215.
Ponſonby Mr. George, I. 365.——II. 219, 226, 244, 317, 322.——III 45, 59.
Ponſonby Junr. Mr. I. 255, 299,
Ponſonby William Brabazon, II. 308, 314.——III. 59.
Prime Serjaent, I. 172.
Provoſt, I. 172, 309.——II. 426.
Recorder, I. 239, 247, 417.
Rowley Mr. I. 304.
Smyth, II. 292, 321.
Solicitor General, II. 83.
Speaker, I. 112, 179, 189, 378.

II. 79, 217, 303.
Stewart of Killymoon, II. 84, 326, 425.
Vandeleur Mr. III. 58.
Vereker Colonel.
Walſhe Mr. I. 241, 255.
Yelverton Mr I. 251.
Spirits ardent, the uſe of, diſcouraged, II. 219.
Stamp Duty granted, I. 119.
Steel boy's inſurrection and defeat, I. 35.
Swayne Captain murdered at Proſperous, III. 243.

T

Tarah-hill battle of, III. 246,—249.
Taylor Mr. Sufferings, III. 340. 344.
Temple Earl, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, I. 319.——Adminiſtration, 333.——Receives the thanks of the Houſe of Commons, 337.——His anſwer, *ib.*
Teſt act repealed, I, 312.
Theobald Wolfe Tone taken and tried, III. 379.——Killed himſelf, 380.
Three Rocks, rebel-camp formed at, III. 266.
Thurot attempted to invade Ireland, I. 11.——Diſtreſs in his voyage, *ib.*——Lands at Carrickfergus, 13.——Takes and plunders the town, 15, 16.——Defeat and death, 16, 17.
Timahoe, defeat of the rebels at, III. 284.
Tontine or annuities with ſurviorſhip, I. 118, 128, 153.
Treaſury ſtate of in 1779, I. 165.
Troy Dr. paſtoral letter to reſtrain the White-boy inſurgency, I. 435.——Approved by Government, 437.
Tyrrell Lieutenant, gallant defence of Clonard, with 27 men, III. 303.——Purſuit and diſperſion of the rebels, 306.
Tyrrell Mrs. her ſufferings, III. 331.

U

Union Legiſlative apprehended, I. 18.——Riots of the mob on that occaſion, *ib.*——Apprehended by the Catholic meeting in Francis-ſtreet Chapel, III. 134.——Articles of, III. 520.——City of Dublin reſolutions on, 477.—Iriſh Bar reſolutions on, 475.——Lord's proteſt thereon, 516.—Members of Parliament, liſt of for and againſt, 485.——Debates thereon, 495.——Lord Lieutenant cloſes laſt parliament with ſpeech on the.
United Iriſhmen, Origin of, III. 221.——Views, 222.——Formation of the firſt ſociety in Dublin, 223.——Original teſt *ib.*——New Organization, and Second teſt, 224.——Similar Societies formed in many parts of Ireland, 226.
United Iriſhmen, their plan of repreſentation, III. 122.——Addreſs to the people of Ireland, 114—121.——Objects, proceedings, and intrigues with France, for the overthrow of the Conſtitution, 229,—236.——Meditate a riſing, 236.——Depredation, 237.——Leaders ſeized at Oliver Bond's in Bridge-ſtreet, Dublin, *ib.*——See P. 354—359.

V

Vereker Colonel repulſed by the French near Coloony, III. 323
Vinegar-hill a camp formed at by the rebels, III. 266.——Battle of, 297.
Volunteer Corps formed, I. 166.——Receive the thanks of the Houſe of Commons, 189.——Reſolutions of, 143.——Corps at Dungannon reſpecting Legiſlative independance, 195.——At Dublin, 198.——Of Ulſter addreſs to their repreſentatives,

200 and *Seq*,——Addreſs of thanks to Volunteers of Ulſter and Connaught. 261,—265. ——Parliamentary proceedings on certain ſymptoms of their diſſaffection, II. 321.

W

Waterford: petition of the city of, I. 124.——Reſolutions of the Sheriff and grand jury at, 161 and *Seq.*

Weſtmoreland Earl, Lord Lieutenant. II. 201.

Wexford evacuated by the king's Troops, and entered by the rebels, III 260.——Cruelties committed there, 298,—333. ——Rebels propoſe conditions of ſurrender to General Lake, *ib.*——His anſwer, 299.—— Evacuated by the rebels, 371.

White-Boys' inſurrection, I. 30. ——Depredations, Oath &c. *ib.* and 33, See P. 434.

White heaps, rebels attacked and diſperſed near, III. 303.

Wilkes Mr. I. 51.

Wilſon James Eſq; declines fighting againſt America, I. 131.

Wilſon's Hoſpital, deſtroyed by the inſurgents, III, 346,

Woollen manufacture of Ireland diſcouraged by the Britiſh Parliament, I, 94—98,